Oral History Interview

with

DONALD S. MILLER

Regional Archaeologist, 1970 - 1985

USDA FOREST SERVICE REGION 5

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USDA FOREST SERVICE

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DONALD S. MILLER

Regional Archaeologist, Region 5, 1970-1985

June 30, July 2, 7 and 9, 1998
San Francisco, California

By Jacqueline S. Reinier
California State University, Sacramento

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INTERVIEW HISTORY

Interviewer:

Dr. Jacqueline S. Reinier
Professor of History,
former Director of Oral History Program
California State University, Sacramento

Circumstances of the Interview:

This conversation between Don Miller and Jacqueline Reinier took place during four sessions in the summer of 1998 at Laguna Honda Hospital in San Francisco. Although Don is now confined to a wheel chair in order to receive a constant supply of oxygen, his mind is lively and his wit is quick. It was difficult, however, to find a suitable place to record in the busy hospital, and some unavoidable background noise can be heard on the tape recordings.

The interview was arranged by Linda Lux, Forest Service Historian for Region 5. She supplied Reinier with an abundance of background materials and permitted her to conduct research in the historical archives of Region 5 in the San Francisco Regional Office. Lux also contacted a number of people with whom Miller had worked in order to elicit questions to be asked in the interview. She accompanied Reinier in a preliminary interview at Laguna Honda Hospital on June 22, 1998 to introduce the two participants and prepare for the tape recording.

During the interview Reinier asked Miller to describe his vision and goals for establishing the program in Cultural Resources Management in Region 5. He particularly emphasized the importance of professional standards and the hiring of Forest Archaeologists, whom he recalled with great fondness. After discussing "the Halcyon Days" of the innovative program during its rapid growth in the 1970s, he turned to more troubling issues of the 1980s, when he felt that growth was stymied. In discussing his resignation from the Forest Service in 1985, Miller initially placed much of the blame for his difficulties on himself. After reviewing correspondence provided through Reinier's research in the Region 5 archives, however, he also reflected on the motivations and values of his Forest Service supervisors. The result is a complex and thoughtful discussion, concluding with his ideas about a model Heritage program. Throughout the interview, Miller's professional standards, love of archaeological field work and respect for archaeological and historical sites provide dominant themes.

The interview was transcribed by Carol Niehus, a professional transcriber. Reinier edited the work with care and submitted the transcript to Miller for his review. He made only minimal changes in the transcript. Reinier prepared the supplementary materials.

The Washington Office of the USDA Forest Service partially funded the interview. Information from this and other interviews will form the basis of a training course on the history of the Heritage Program within the Forest Service. The course will outline major policy trends and turning points in the development of the program in order to give Heritage Program managers a context for the continuing evolution of historic preservation in the Federal government.

The transcript and original tape recordings of this interview are located at the USDA Forest Service archives in the Regional Office in San Francisco. Additional copies will be placed by Lux in various university libraries in California.

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

Donald S. Miller was born in 1936 in Denver, Colorado, where he lived until age six. He attended elementary and junior high schools in Los Angeles, California, but returned to Denver for high school. After a three-year stint in the Marine Corps from 1954 to 1957, he attended Santa Monica City College, where he discovered his life-long fascination with anthropology and California Indians. On a summer dig for the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History he conducted his first field work on Chumash Indian village sites. After attending Santa Barbara City College from 1959 to 1961, he moved to San Francisco, where he obtained his Bachelor's Degree in Anthropology from San Francisco State University in 1964.

From 1963 to 1966 Miller worked with the University of California, Los Angeles Archaeological Field School and as an instructor for the UCLA Archaeological Survey. In the latter position he solicited a number of contracts for excavation projects from both state and federal governments. While working on a dig in Chico during this time period, he was inspired to make a film about "4-Butte-1," the first archaeological site recorded in Butte County. Financed by the National Science Foundation, this very successful film on archaeological field work was made through the UCLA Extension Media Center. It has become a classic, and is still shown to instruct students in values, methods, and procedures of archaeological field work.

After a brief stint as a Faculty-Staff Archaeologist for the Department of Anthropology at Queens College of the City University of New York in 1969-70, Miller returned to California to apply for the position of Regional Archaeologist in Region 5 of the USDA Forest Service. Recent legislation--the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969--required federal agencies to conduct inventories of the archaeological and historical sites on their lands, and Miller was attracted to the challenges and opportunities of putting together a new program. Under his direction, the Cultural Resources program in the Forest Service grew rapidly in the 1970s. He insisted on full surveys and rigorous professional standards. One of his goals was hiring qualified professional archaeologists for the various National Forests in California. He also worked out a para-professional program to train Forest Service personnel to locate and inventory appropriate sites. Much esprit de corps developed among the archaeologists in Region 5, as their program progressed and they gathered for convivial meetings, such as the Oktoberfest, which later evolved into North Gap. As the 1970s continued, Miller attempted to expand the program by reaching out to historians and seeking to include specialists in other areas, such as ethnology and the study of myth. The Cultural Resources program grew during

a period of change in the Forest Service as the agency adjusted to the introduction of increasing numbers of specialists and demands that more women and minorities be hired.

Although Miller had put together a flagship Cultural Resources program in Region 5, his energy lagged in the early 1980s. He felt increasingly bogged down by the need to review piles of reports, the limits on funding that stymied the continued growth of his program, and conflicts with his supervisors. Removed from his first love, which was field work, he chafed at becoming an administrator. In 1985 he resigned from his position with the Forest Service. Since then he has taken a number of temporary jobs and now resides at Laguna Honda Hospital in San Francisco.

[Session 1, June 30, 1998]

[Begin Tape 1, Side A]

REINIER: Don, let's start out by talking a little bit about your background. Can you tell me about your childhood?

MILLER: I was born in Denver, Colorado in 1936, the Ides of March, and I lived there 'til I was six. Then I lived with my father in Los Angeles 'til I was 14, went to elementary and junior high school there. And then I went back to Denver and lived with an aunt and uncle and went through high school in Denver. Then I went in the Marine Corps for three years--in the infantry--and then got out of the Marine Corps and went to Santa Monica City College for two years. Then I went to San Francisco State [University] College and got my bachelor's degree. Then I went to UCLA [University of California, Los Angeles] and was chief archaeologist for the archaeological survey,

which was a research organization with the Department of Anthropology that was responsible for, basically, the archaeology of California. My job there was administering the program of getting contracts from state and federal agencies and hiring UCLA mainly graduate students, but undergraduates as well, to run the programs, usually salvage excavations. And I did that for a couple of years, and then I went back to New York at the invitation of a friend and took all my courses for the master's degree except I didn't take the exam. Then I was offered a job at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History with Phil Orr, who was an old friend of mine. He was the head of the Department of Anthropology at the Museum. I had worked for Phil as a part-time student in earlier years. But the day I took the job and was hired, I got a phone call that I was offered a job at UCLA to be the chief archaeologist at their Survey, which was a very prestige job for a student. So I had to back out on the job at Santa Barbara, which was difficult to do, and take the job at UCLA. I was very successful at UCLA and I basically developed a program that more than doubled the amount of research work for students.

REINIER: Could I just ask, what made you interested in anthropology? How did that interest develop?

MILLER: I usually tell people it was the only class I could get on Tuesdays and Thursdays. [Laughter]

REINIER: Is that true?

MILLER: No. No. Actually when I started junior college, all the classes that would count toward a degree and not just electives, most of them were all filled. There was a class called "Anthropology," Turned out it was Physical Anthropology. And so I decided, hey, that sounded fancy, so I took that. It was the worst anthropology course I ever had but I stuck with it.

Then that summer, that was the big moment. It was that summer the professor of the anthropology class, Dr. Nelson, told us that an archaeologist was coming down from Santa Barbara to interview any students who might like to go on a dig during the summer. They would pay a minimum amount. They'd pay you board and room and ten dollars a week or something. So I thought, well, that sounds like something interesting, and I had nothing planned. So I met, when he came down, Bill Harrison and his wife, Pat, came down to interview students. There were three of us that were interviewed, so we all three were taken

aboard. So I went off to Santa Barbara that summer and dug at a very famous archaeological site north of Goleta about ten miles, Dos Pueblos, where [Juan Rodriguez] Cabrillo landed. Two very famous Chumash Indian villages were there but especially the big one, Mikiw. And we excavated the first ocean side Chumash Indian house that had ever been located. When that was finished Harrison still had a lot of money from the grant from the owner of the property, and so he asked me to stay on the rest of the summer, so I did. Then I ended up just moving to Santa Barbara. And I went to Santa Barbara City College. Then I moved to San Francisco and went to San Francisco State, got my bachelor's degree. Then I went back to UCLA. Then I went back to New York. I think I'm repeating myself there.

When I was in New York, I got a letter from Paul Shoemacher, who was the only federal archaeologist in California at that time. He worked for the National Park Service, Department of Interior at 450 Golden Gate in San Francisco. I'd known Paul, I'd met him just through meetings and so forth, and he sent an application back to New York for me to fill out for the job with the US[DA] Forest Service. And so I filled out an

application and sent it back thinking I was going to be in California anyway in a month for the Society for California Archaeology annual meetings which were to be held at Asilomar. Fritz Ridell, Francis Ridell, was the state archaeologist, and he was good buddies with Paul Shoemacher, the federal archaeologist. Fritz Ridell was pushing the hiring of a fellow named Bill Pritchard, for the Forest Service to hire. And so anyway I set up for an interview and my interview was the last one of the day, which was partially planned by me because I figured I had to travel so far. I made that known to the people in the Forest Service. So I got to the Forest Service that afternoon and I decided to show them "4-Butte-1," the film that I was involved with making when I was at UCLA. So I showed "4-Butte-1," which probably got me the job right there. After it was over the three people who were there to interview me in this large conference room, one guy said, "It's sure good to see a man in the field." And I thought, that's points for me. Then I looked across the table and I noticed ashtrays. None of the interviewers smoked and I wouldn't smoke during an interview. But somebody smokes, I figured. I knew Tom King, who was the other person, didn't

smoke. Bill Pritchard, the guy from the State smoked, so I figured Bill Pritchard just lost a lot of points by smoking during an interview. I thought Tom King would get the job, frankly; he was equally qualified as I was, if not more a little bit. But I got the job. So that's when I became the Forest Archaeologist for the California Region of the United States Forest Service.

REINIER: Before we get into that, let's go back and pick up the making of "4-Butte-1" and what you were doing with the UCLA program.

MILLER: Well, at UCLA, I ran their summer field school. The first field school I went on I was a teaching assistant and that was at Southern Utah State College. The director of that field school made the Mormons so mad that they wouldn't allow UCLA to come back to Southern Utah to this one little college.

REINIER: How did he do that?

MILLER: Oh, a lot of swearing and drinking and stuff. And carryings on. He ran a loose ship as it were. So I talked with a fellow I knew from UCLA who was teaching at Chico State College [California State University, Chico] in the Sacramento Valley, and he says, "Why don't you run it up here? We got some really great sites that we could excavate."

So I went up to see him. Keith Johnson is his name. We went out to a site right on the edge of town named "4-Butte-1," first site recorded in Butte County. It was a huge village site. At least half, if not more, had already been bulldozed into the farm that surrounded it. So there was a bit of an emergency situation. We talked with the owners and they were very encouraged about us excavating there. Well, the first summer I was looking around and I thought, what a great place to make a movie, because there were a lot of interesting archaeological materials. It wouldn't be like an early man site where you get one artifact a month or something; we were getting all kinds of stuff.

When I got back to UCLA after that first summer, I wrote up a grant proposal to the National Science Foundation. You had to have a Ph.D. so I got a professor to just sign it--he didn't even know what he was signing--and I fired it off to the National Science Foundation. I had names of people who I had already contacted and asked their permission on the proposal as coordinators or consultants. I picked four people that I knew everybody would love one of them and everybody would hate one of them, so I felt that

more than likely I'd get support. That was the big hurdle, I figured. Sure enough, we got the grant. We got a film crew together and we did it through the UCLA Extension Media Center. They had their own cinematographers. We contracted for a cameraman, Tony Gorsline, and we had him live with us the whole summer and he had to be in the field every day. So he shot a lot of film. I told him, "It's no limit to the film. If we run out of money, we'll get more money. But you just shoot as much film as you want to shoot." And he did. He shot a lot of film. Which caused the editors a lot of trouble because it's a lot to edit out and there's a lot of footage.

REINIER: Where is that footage? Is it still available?

MILLER: Oh, I doubt it. I doubt it. There was just too much. There may be a little available someplace. It would be at the Extension Media Center at UCLA though. A few anecdotal stories?

REINIER: Yes, we'd love to have that.

MILLER: Okay. "4-Butte-1." Some of the more interesting things about filming it was one thing: I insisted upon authenticity. In other words, I wanted every word in there to be accurate, historically and ethnographically. And so, everything, including the reading from a German diary of a real German

explorer who came by that site in the late 1800's. We got a copy of his diary. Fortunately, UCLA has a good library. And it was in German. I got a translation of it, the part about the village, "4-Butte-1." So we decided to read some of that into the movie. So we had to get a student [Hans Wagener] from the German Department, who had a real thick German accent, to read it because we wanted a German accent.

And the sunrise that you see took three days to film because we went all the way back up to Chico because I insisted upon getting the sunrise in Chico, not in Los Angeles or anywhere else. So we went all the way back up to Chico. We were in a motel, stayed the night, got up real early in the morning, went down the highway near the site and waited for the sun to come up. Well, we got there and Tony Gorsline forgot the film. So we went back to the motel because it was too late. Went back to the motel, marked the place in the fence with a Styrofoam cup where we had been. Next morning came and we went zooming down to the cup and started to shoot, but the batteries in his camera were dead. So we had to go back, come back a third morning before he actually got that one brief shot of the sun coming up (or the horizon

going down). So there were a lot of interesting little stories like that.

Well, as an example, the shot of the gopher pushing dirt out of the gopher hole?

REINIER: Uh huh.

MILLER: We saw the gopher come out once and I told him to just stand there and just let the camera roll. And he came out about twenty minutes later. We shot a lot of footage to get that.

REINIER: But it's a classic film!

MILLER: Oh yeah.

REINIER: Still an excellent film.

REINIER: Oh yeah, yeah. It works, still works as they say. I was a little surprised. Well, the music... Walter Goldschmidt, who was the Department Chairman--a lot of people didn't like him--when we first screened "4-Butte-1" to some students who were at Haines Hall, at the Department of Anthropology at UCLA, yelled from the background, "What's that noise?" The noise was the music. Guy [Edward Applebaum] just got his Ph.D. in musicology and was a musician and knew one of the film makers, that's how we got him. And he viewed the film without narration or anything, just the footage pretty well cut to its final version. He went over to Watts and got three students from a

junior high school [Elvin Johnson, Darvin Redd, Rudy Wadley, and James West] who didn't play any musical instruments and didn't know anything about music. He brought them back to UCLA, went into a sound recording studio with a projector and screen, and he kept showing "4-Butte-1" over and over to them and had them make noises. Whatever noise they thought they should make, make it. And so he recorded all the noises and then he composed the music out of the noises from those three junior high school students. Their names are on the credits by the way.

REINIER: Fascinating!

MILLER: So. That's how that turned out.

REINIER: That's very effective.

MILLER: We were really running out of time because we were really late getting the thing finished and we still didn't have a good narrator, a good narrator's voice. We finally found this guy [Don Gunn] who worked in a lumber yard near UCLA, who somebody had heard his voice, he had a good voice. So they [Bob Hansen and Denis N. McNicoll] hired him, but they couldn't get a sound studio the day that he was available. So they got him in a car with all their sound equipment and they drove down to San Fernando Valley, down some lonely street

where there's no noise, rolled up all the windows--it was like ninety degree weather--and they recorded the entire narration track inside a closed car. Little anecdotes like that are amusing.

REINIER: I should say.

MILLER: The other big one that comes to mind was because of my insistence on authenticity, the movie starts with a rendition of the creation myth where Earth-maker sends Turtle down to get some mud from bottom so he can make Earth. I insisted that we get a Sacramento Mud Turtle to be the turtle. So we came over to the museum [California Academy of Sciences] here in San Francisco. They had this one cage with a little glassed-in area inside with monkeys in it and tropical plants and stuff. They said they had a Mud Turtle, Sacramento Mud Turtle. And there it was, we could see it; it had distinctive little red marks on its cheeks. So we wanted to take pictures from the inside. [Laughing] So we got inside and the doggone monkeys got out and there was total pandemonium! Oh, these poor guys running around trying to get these monkeys. So we decided, well, we better just sneak out. We had got into enough trouble here! And that's when we found out that another

crew of film people from UCLA had been down filming in the Galapagos Islands. So we went into their darkroom, into their editing room, and "stole" some footage of Galapagos Tortoises. Because we figured it was a myth, why not? So that's what you see in "4-Butte-1," a Galapagos Sea Tortoise.

REINIER: Oh, that's fabulous.

[Interruption]

REINIER: You know, Don, you said that at UCLA you were putting together a very prestigious program.

MILLER: Oh right. Well, it became a prestigious program. Dr. Clement Meighan at UCLA is a California archaeologist, which is very unusual for a big school like UCLA. He started a program called the Archaeological Survey, which had its habitation in an old World War II barracks building on the west side of campus. It had been in operation for about two years before I went there. It was run by a graduate student, a UCLA graduate student, as sort of a prestige job for an outstanding graduate student. What that department did was they ran excavations for students. I was notified that there was a job opening there and was told to apply for it. Let's see, is that the way it happened? No, actually, I was just told I had the

job by a guy named Jay Ruby who ended up teaching back at Temple University with joint studies in film and anthropology. That's how I knew him because of the interest in film that we both had. He had recommended that they hire me even though I wasn't a student at UCLA. So I decided, well, I couldn't get in UCLA on my academic record so I thought, I'll get on as a teaching assistant with their summer field school in Utah. That would be good for me to know how to run a field school because that's one of the jobs of the Archaeological Survey. Plus because I was on a field school as an instructor, that was tantamount to being a graduate student, so I figured it was essentially saying I'm a graduate student at UCLA. So that's how I got by all that. When I got the job with the Survey, there wasn't an awful lot going on. There were a few students who had sites; they were digging down at Malibu and so forth, but they were their own interests. So I went on and I got a great big map, one of these relief maps of California, a plastic map, put it on a hallway board. I started soliciting contracts from the Federal Government, Paul Shoemacher, [Department of] Interior, and from the [California] State Parks [and Recreation], which

was a Francis Ridell, Fritz we called him. But it was sort of a disruptive thing because Ridell and Paul Shoemacher would always give contracts to their personal friends, mainly [Adan E.] Treganza at San Francisco State. Well now, he was okay. But they had to solicit contracts through the normal contract procedure, so we'd automatically get these things but never get what you ordered. So they had a contract for a survey on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. [Laughing] I sent back that UCLA would do it free, because we were going to be running a field school at Chico and it would be easy for us to transport our students, or some portion of the students, down to survey Angel Island. Oh! They just about died a thousand deaths because you would have to accept it and it was all wired for Treganza at San Francisco State. So I let them all hang out there for awhile and I called him at the last moment and said, "Well, we re-figured this and we just couldn't possibly afford to do it." So I let it go. But they always liked me after that because I let them off the hook!

I gradually managed to get quite a few contracts from the state and the federal government, mainly the state for doing excavations

at places with the State Parks and stuff like that. We had a lot of little pins that every time we'd get a project, I'd put a pin on that map--that relief map. White ones were undergraduates, red ones were graduate students, whatever. One day the Chancellor of the University came by, [Franklin] Murphy. And he says, "What's this?" He was pointing to the map and I said, "That shows all the projects our students are on, sir." And he says, "Really?" He said, "What are they doing?" So I explained to him that we were getting contracts and I was helping supply training for our students and he was really impressed! So he pulls out a book and he starts writing things down. And the next year in our budget we received an extra five thousand dollars--which was a lot of money in those days--in the Survey budget because he thought we deserved it. So that was a coup for the Survey. And then Tom King came after me there. Joe Chartkoff was a very good friend of mine. He came right after me; he was my assistant. When Joe Chartkoff left UCLA with his Ph.D., he went to Michigan State [University] and taught there. I think he's probably retired by now. But I always knew him. I was godfather for his first son. So we were

very good friends and he was a damn good archaeologist too.

REINIER: You started out in academia, but what took you to the Federal government rather than continuing in academia?

MILLER: Oh, the Forest Service. I had a job offer at Temple [University] in Philadelphia to teach. Then I had the offer to start an archaeology program with the Forest Service in California. I thought about it and thought about it and I kept putting people off and kept putting people off. I finally decided, well, for my own personal career, I'd be a lot better off going with the Forest Service back in California because I hated the East Coast. I'd be back in California and I knew the archaeology and the ethnography pretty well in California, as well as the next guy. [Chuckles] I figured the Forest Service didn't have any archaeologist up til then. I figured the first two years would be all mine and I would just do whatever I wanted to do because they didn't know what I was supposed to do. Which is true; I got away with almost murder the first two years just by innovating things and spending a lot of money, getting a big budget and all that. And finally

causing enough trouble with the Forest Supervisors...

By the way, editorial remark, there are eighteen National Forests in California; about a fifth of the State of California is under National Forest system lands. So that's an awful lot of archaeological sites. Every time I'd go out to visit a forest to look at a site and to recommend how to avoid it, I kept cutting big chunks (pardon the pun) out of their timber sales. Well, timber was king then, as it probably still is, regardless of what the papers say. There's this big conflict between the archaeology and timber.

REINIER: We want to get into that. But I wanted to say, why did the Forest Service hire an archaeologist at that point?

MILLER: Oh, okay. Executive Order 11593 came out in 1971. Richard Nixon. It required all federal agencies to inventory their lands for archaeological sites. And maybe it's worded slightly different, historical or something, but it was clear. I didn't have a difficult time letting them know that he meant archaeological sites. And if anybody was going to do something new, it would be California.

REINIER: You were hired before that in 1970. Was it because of the federal legislation?

MILLER: It was in the wind.

[End Tape 1, Side A]

[Begin Tape 1, Side B]

REINIER: Don, we were talking about the legislation that was really the motivation for the Forest Service hiring an archaeologist. The National Historic Preservation Act was in 1966.

MILLER: Right, that's correct. Yeah.

REINIER: And probably just for the record we should say that part of that was the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Then the National Register of Historic Places was part of that legislation. Then Section 106 of that act...

MILLER: ...Compliance, yeah...

REINIER: ...Required the environmental review...

MILLER: ...Right. It was an all encompassing act in the sense that it required federal agencies to identify and evaluate. That's what the whole National Register thing is, evaluation. And that was always the big problem. Because as far as I was concerned, without excavation and total analysis, all archaeological sites are of value. All archaeological sites are significant. That was my argument, with the Historic Preservation

Act. Others would do less than that. Like in the Southwest they started a program where they just surveyed 10 percent of the land. They figured sampling it was good enough, and I just cringed because sampling doesn't do it.

REINIER: So what did you want instead of the sampling?

MILLER: I wanted full surveys. In other words, if you were going to do a timber sale on an area, and even then I was consenting to the major project in the sense that we were only surveying major project areas--impact areas--or potential impact areas. Whereas I felt as an archaeologist we should be out there surveying areas just because they have archaeological value, which we ended up doing some of.

REINIER: Did you survey sites because there was going to be ground disturbing?

MILLER: Yeah. Right. In other words, that was what would trigger the other programs such as timber or roads to shell out the money because they had to pay for it.

REINIER: So, do you think that the Forest Service hired an archaeologist in order to comply with that federal legislation?

MILLER: Yes. Yes.

REINIER: Did they have a vision of what they wanted you to do?

MILLER: They didn't have any idea. They were getting all their advice from Paul Shoemacher, the [Department of] Interior archaeologist in San Francisco, and Interior's program was mainly one of protecting National Parks, a very small area of land nationally compared to the National Forest Service. Plus the Interior's program had been developed over the years since way back in the 1930's. Its program was pretty well in foundation, in cement, in that most of the rules and regulations had already been written. It was hard to change. So I thought an advantage in the Forest Service was that they didn't have anything. So I figured, well, it's easier to give candy to a baby than take it away, so we'll just give everything. Well, that was a wrong thing to say. [Chuckles] But I figured if we started off tough, we could always get lenient later but we had to start off real tough. I started requiring 100 percent surveys on all project areas, regardless. And I said, even Wilderness areas. And that just froze them. As a matter of fact, I remember giving a talk in a Wilderness meeting and the guy who invented Wilderness--he was an old, old man--

was there as a distinguished guest. I upset him because I totally disagreed with the concept of Wilderness. I said, "Because it's so racist. So ethnocentric. Indians were walking around those mountains for thousands of years before Europeans ever came. And they wouldn't think it was wilderness." And everybody said, "Shsss." They hired me because I just got by in the interview and Paul Shoemacher, Interior, did recommend me.

REINIER: Did you have a vision when you went in of what you wanted to do?

MILLER: Oh yes, yes.

REINIER: What did you want to do?

MILLER: Well, first of all, it was professionalism. When the Forest contracted with an archaeologist to do archaeology work, or hired an archaeologist whether full time or seasonal, they had to meet certain standards. There was no archaeology in the personnel files of the Department of Personnel, which regulates all that for all the agencies. As a matter of fact, I used to go over to their office in San Francisco and try to help them write guidelines for an archaeologist. I wanted to make sure that the MINIMAL education was a bachelor's degree with experience in archaeology. Well, that's what I required in the

California region. So the majority of our archaeologists had master's degrees, the Forest archaeologists, which I didn't have but everybody just assumed I did so I just let them assume.

REINIER: So hiring professionals was one of your goals?

MILLER: That was, yeah, the biggest goal.

REINIER: Did you have other goals in mind?

MILLER: Okay. Here's my big goal. I got [James] Jim Johnston as my assistant in the Regional Office. He's now the Lassen [National Forest] archaeologist. But Jim Johnston, who had gone to Sac State [California State University, Sacramento] and UC {University of California], Santa Barbara, which I knew, we hired him as just a temporary in my office. My boss [Jack Williams],the guy who was in charge of Lands [and Minerals], refused to let me hire an assistant. So one day--talk about good luck--one day I was sitting in this restaurant right across from where I lived in San Francisco. I rarely went there on weekends but this one time I just didn't want to cook for myself. I went over and ordered breakfast and sat at a little table. I looked up at the table across from me and there was this family, a middle-aged guy and his wife and it looked like an older daughter. I looked and I

said, "God! That's the Chief of the Forest Service!" It was Chief [Edward P.] Cliff. And I thought, my God, I can't let this go by. So I ran out, paid my bill and ran over to the check-in counter at the motel, and I said, "Do you have a Cliff checked in here." They says, "Oh yeah." So I pulled out one of my Forest Service calling cards that said Regional Archaeologist and I put a little note, "Give me a call and maybe we can get together and I'll tell you all about the newest program in the Forest Service." So I put my phone number down and I ran off. It suddenly dawned on me when I got home I couldn't leave for fear he'd call. Fortunately, he called about twenty minutes later and said he was going to go down to that restaurant and have breakfast on his way over to the Regional Office the next day, and could I come out and have breakfast with him and go with him out to the Regional Office. I said, "Sure." So I gave him a big thing about needing an assistant. At this meeting, oh, the people were nosing up to the Chief of the Forest Service. The way I heard this story from somebody else was that my boss kept talking about how Lands was this and that and the Chief would keep saying, "Well, what about your archaeology program?" And he obviously

didn't know much about it. So finally the Chief says, "You know, I think your archaeologist needs an assistant." And so I got an assistant. [Chuckles]

REINIER: Great. Great!

MILLER: So that was just serendipity.

REINIER: Yeah.

MILLER: But those kinds of things... If you take advantage. It's like I sat there, I knew if I didn't do something about it in the restaurant, I would regret it the rest of my life. I just had to do something.

REINIER: Did you have any other goals when you first started out?

MILLER: Professionalism and population, to get people on the Forests that had the most endangered sites. Like Los Padres [National Forest]. I mean tremendously important archaeological and historical sites in Santa Barbara County. And plus they have a university right there. So that was an ideal place to start. And you know where they hired the first archaeologist?

REINIER: Well, that's what I wondered...

MILLER: It was on the Modoc [National Forest]! [Laughter]

REINIER: Now why?

MILLER: The most distant backward forest in the region.

REINIER: Why was the Modoc chosen?

MILLER: They just... I never found out why.

REINIER: Well now, you took a trip up there right away.

MILLER: Oh, I was up there all the time. Oh yeah, I impressed their District Rangers. As a matter of fact, I remember the kindest things. There was this little old lady, the stereotyped little old lady with the rosy checks was on the counter at the Supervisor's office in Alturas. She said about the third time I was out there, "You know, we've never had anybody from the Regional Office come up here!" She says, "And you've been here three times already." But I was real interested in the Modoc War sites.

REINIER: Yeah, the Modoc Indian war.

MILLER: And I thought, the centennial or the fifty-year or whatever... And Rich Weaver had come up and we were talking about trying to get a commemorative stamp.

REINIER: Was that 1976?

MILLER: Yeah. Of course, trying to get a commemorative stamp in the Forest Service was impossible. I mean, I just passed the idea to people, [Whispering] "Do you realize how hard that would be?" You know, just negative, negative, negative. And so we never did go for it. Unfortunately.

REINIER: So the Modoc was the first forest to hire a professional.

MILLER: Yeah.

REINIER: Who made that decision?

MILLER: Forest Supervisor, with my recommendation in that case. Because I knew Mike Boynton real well from Chico State.

REINIER: Okay. And tell us about Mike. We want to know about some of these early people you hired. This is Mike Boynton.

MILLER: And Mike Boynton was at Chico. As a matter of fact, I think he was there when we were doing "4-Butte-1." He ran the lab. He ran the lab at Chico State with the archaeologist there, Keith Johnson, was a UCLA graduate. I don't know, I just got to know him and when they were looking for somebody up there, I thought Mike was interested in that area and he took the job up there.

REINIER: Could you pretty much hand pick the people that you wanted on the various forests?

MILLER: No, a lot of times they picked their own people.

REINIER: The Forest Supervisor did.

MILLER: Yeah. And I had very little to say in who a lot of them hired. The only thing is they had to meet those professional criteria and then they had to

come to the Regional Office once. Early, early on. And that's when I'd give them my speech. And Jim Johnston was my assistant; for most of that time he was still in there. What I would do was give them my philosophical speech and Jim Johnston would give them the technical speech.

REINIER: Could you tell us a little bit about your philosophical speech?

MILLER: Yeah. Well, basically the core of it was, I said, "You're not going to believe this." I said, "You come to work for the Forest Service; you're liable to end up way out in the middle of nowhere, like the Modoc National Forest. Your wife will settle in and become known in the local community. You'll befriend the District Ranger and your wife will befriend his wife. You guys will go hunting together and you'll do everything together. And then one day he's going to come to you and he's going to say, `I've got this timber sale that if I don't get out they're going to transfer me out of the region. And I can't get it out because there's that big archaeological site there. Can't you do something about it?'" And I look right at the archaeologists and I'd say, "Here's exactly what you say to them. You say 'Well, make sure you send us your address so we can drop by and

visit you.' Because you just got to know when you go in that the resource is why you're here. It's not the friends you make." And then Jim Johnston would give them a little lecture on the Archaeological Reconnaissance Report and the techniques we used in the Forest Service for recording sites.

REINIER: Now tell us a little bit about those techniques. Were they the standard professional techniques?

MILLER: No. [Laughter] Well, they were based on standard archaeological survey sheets from California. But what we did is, we got a whole bunch of money and we hired Tom King to run a field school for what we ended up calling para-professionals, which I hated. But what we did is, we gave two-week training to foresters on how to find sites and how to record them, which I was always a little bit cautious doing. But I had to bend a little bit. So Tom King ran a very good one. We paid him through the nose.

REINIER: Where was Tom King from?

MILLER: Well, at that time he was running a private contracting outfit out of Marin County some place. And this was before he went back to Washington. We trained quite a few students that season. He ran two sessions. I don't remember the number but

we had a number of para-professionals. Made certain requirements like they had to do at least one evaluation. If they taught anybody else how to survey, then they had to be the people who signed the report and they were responsible.

REINIER: Were the para-professionals people who were already working for the Forest Service?

MILLER: Oh yeah, they were foresters. For the most part. They could have been hydrologists or wildlife biologists, but they were full-time employees with the Forest Service.

REINIER: And then you said students. Did you train temporary workers as well?

MILLER: The Forest would do that sometimes.

REINIER: I see.

MILLER: Yeah.

REINIER: Now, some people have asked me to ask you about the Arizona connection, that you hired a lot of these early people from Arizona that you knew through the museum at Flagstaff. Is that so?

MILLER: Oh yeah, just a couple, not a lot. [James T.] Jim Rock and maybe a couple of others.

REINIER: How did you happen to know them?

MILLER: Well, how they happened to know me...

REINIER: ...Okay...

MILLER: ...Was the comparison of the two programs. The archaeological program in the Southwest was a sell-out to the resource.

REINIER: That's Region 3?

MILLER: Yeah. And they had heard about what was going on in Region 5 and they'd rather work in Region 5, as near as I could gather. But we didn't get that many from the Southwest that I know of.

REINIER: Jim Rock, and can you think of others?

MILLER: Jim Rock. There is one guy [Steve Fosberg] that I just... He ended up going to work back in Colorado someplace but he was down on the Sequoia [National Forest]. He was one of the most ethical people I've ever met. He used to fight toe and nail with his Forest Supervisor. I used to call down and jump all over the Forest Supervisor, which I wasn't supposed to do. They just about fired him. I called him at dinner one night at his home, the Forest Supervisor. I jumped all over him and I said, "Oh yeah, having dinner? Well, I'll call you back after dinner." And this is like at night time. That was a bad thing.

REINIER: You brought this up a minute ago. Did you have a lot of conflict with the Forest Supervisors?

MILLER: Yeah. A lot of conflict, especially in the beginning because I expected a lot more for

cultural resources (archaeology we called it in the beginning) than wildlife biologists, or any of the other specialists. Plus there was always a negative thing toward the other specialists, too, at that time, because they were fairly new in the Forest Service too. Forest Service was still traditional forester and they weren't used to... Well, they weren't used to females either. I mean they just started hiring females in the early seventies. As a matter of fact, the first female District Archaeologist was on the Modoc.

REINIER: Who was that?

MILLER: A lady named Cathy Rapp--R A P P. She did a good job but boy they hounded her. One forest ranger's wife came after her with a rifle because she was jealous. She was working with him in the field and they were riding in the same truck. [Laughing] Those are the old days!

REINIER: Well, there was a real esprit de corps, I know, in the Forest Service.

MILLER: Oh yeah. Still is I'm sure...

REINIER: ...Among the foresters...

MILLER: ...Oh yeah.

REINIER: So why did they object so much to these new specialists coming in? What was the basis of that?

MILLER: Well, it was just like letting new people on the block. They had everything. Everything was theirs. They didn't want to have to stop doing things the way they had been doing it all their careers just because of some archaeologist or wildlife biologist or somebody. And of course, most of these other professionals were preservation oriented and conservation oriented. That's why they always got along with timber engineering, because they build roads to get to the timber. Most of the programs that were very popular were all construction programs--or destruction, if you will--using the wood. So learning to be a true multiple use organization was hard. I think they gradually have come around to it from everything I can hear.

Other connections with the Southwest. God, I wish I could remember that kid's name.

REINIER: We'll look it up. We'll find it.

MILLER: Anyway, he was just really an ethical person.

REINIER: And he came from the Southwest also.

MILLER: Yeah. He went back to Denver or somewhere back in that country. [Chuckles] We were just going right along. As a matter of fact, I think a lot of the reason Forest Supervisors were hiring archaeologists was just to keep me off their back.

They knew if I came out to their forest, I'd stop something. I remember once PG&E [Pacific Gas and Electric Company] was putting a big transmission line across the top of a small cave with a small midden on the apron. I said, "Wow! This is great! This is a National Register quality site! You've got to move those transmission lines." They go, "WHAT?" I said, "Well, the Executive Order"--or one of the things I was carrying around with me--I said, "Anything that would detract from the visual quality of the property is a negative effect." And I says, "I don't think that ties in with the Indians using this area." So they promised to move the tower. All these promises I never had time to go back and check. In my negative moods I always figured probably most of them didn't do anything.

REINIER: But, you know, it's really interesting that you had to go down there personally and make a fuss. Was that the main way you had of trying to get things done?

MILLER: Yeah. But I developed a lot of friends, and a lot of foresters liked that attitude, liked somebody who would fight for his resource.

REINIER: I see. Who were some of your friends among the foresters?

MILLER: I can't remember. I mean, they were just friendly to me. It wasn't like they were my close friends.

REINIER: How did you go about trying to get things done? Mostly just fighting for it?

MILLER: Just fighting and trying to write regulations and procedures. And that's where I was the weakest. I probably could have made a lot more progress faster by writing more stringent regulations. But I think the key in Region 5, the reason we were so far ahead of everybody else, was the Forest Supervisors started hiring their own Forest Archaeologists because I would tell them that. I'd say, "Now you wouldn't have to call me down here and have me look at these things if you had your own Forest Archaeologist." And of course I was hoping they'd think, "Oh, we'll get relief." But then that's why I was so worried earlier that I wanted to make sure that they were professional people and they weren't just coming out to get a job. And I think for the most part we were successful in getting archaeologists that toe the line. One of the most tearful situations I ever had was with Kathy Moffitt on the Sierra [National Forest].

REINIER: What happened?

MILLER: She called me down once and she took me out in the field and said, "I want to show you something, Don." And we go up to this archaeological site, a real nice site. You could see where the timber sale had just gone through, and then you could see where they had replanted right through the site. There were at least three waves of foresters had gone through that site when she had had it marked, had it recorded on all the trees. They used certain flagging on the trees around sites. Then they had also to spray paint the trees around the site with a certain color.

REINIER: And that means that...

MILLER: That means there's an archaeological [site]. Don't do anything in this area.

REINIER: Yeah.

MILLER: And she cried and I cried. Because it was a terrible loss just because of stupidity. Or people just not caring about the other person's resource.

REINIER: Did they consider the archaeology an obstacle, something that interfered with what they were trying to do?

MILLER: Right. But they've changed a lot since then. As a matter of fact, the Forest Supervisor, he's

retired now, Joe Harn on the Six Rivers [National Forest] was a wildlife biologist. Originally.

[Interruption]

MILLER: Yeah, the other way I would keep contact with the forest archaeologists was by telephone. I would call them all the time. As a matter of fact, with most of them there wouldn't be a week go by if they didn't at least get a memo or a telephone call from me. I felt that was the way they could always feel some sort of assurance that I was there to help them, and that they weren't going to be cut loose. That would be the worst kind of thing to happen. And the majority of them I think stuck by me because of that, keeping that communication open. But then I started getting a little tired and they took my assistant away from me, put him out as an archaeologist on the Lassen, which he wanted. There I was, just, you know, I just couldn't handle the job. It was just too much. And they wouldn't hire an assistant. Then they got a new Director of Recreation and he could care less about cultural resources.

REINIER: Now, before we get into that, let's talk a little bit more about the halcyon days and this expanding program. It was really in the seventies that the program was booming, wasn't it?

MILLER: Yeah. We had quite a reputation all over. I used to get calls from the Regional Archaeologist in Milwaukee asking for this and that and so forth. Because they'd heard we'd already done this and rather than repeat things, she'd borrow from us. And she ended up developing a program on par with ours. Of course, they had far fewer forests and all that. But then there were other programs in the country that as far as I got to know they just hired Regional Archaeologists and that was it, that person was doing everything.

REINIER: You also said that you were writing procedures about how the law should be implemented.

MILLER: Oh yeah. Well, we had some manual procedures. I think blue pages or green pages, whatever color they are, regional direction. But we didn't do as much as we should have. I didn't do as much as I should have. Because I just wasn't into writing manual stuff.

REINIER: What do you mean you didn't do as much as you should have?

MILLER: Well, I should have had procedures written in every part of all the manual. In other words, Timber Management people had been cultural resources people. They are now. Because they had

been doing it themselves. Well, you know, with my consultation.

REINIER: You mean on the forest?

MILLER: No, in the Regional Office. There's procedure for the whole region. I think probably most functions now would have cultural resources filled into their own programs, which I should have done back when I was there with this whole thing.

REINIER: So that's one of the things that you wish you would have done differently.

MILLER: Yeah.

REINIER: Now there was quite an esprit de corps among the archaeologists in Region 5, wasn't there?

MILLER: [Laughing] I don't know. I guess so. Oh we had ... [Laughing]

REINIER: Didn't you have traditions?

MILLER: Yeah, we had a tradition called the Oktoberfest.

REINIER: Okay. What was that?

MILLER: I forget what year I started it. But I decided we all had to get together, just together, us, not foresters around and not supervisors and that, but just the archaeologists get together and have a week. Or a weekend, whatever. Just to be together and talk--whatever we wanted to talk about--get drunk, whatever. The first one was in October, so we called it the Oktoberfest. But

then what we had after that... We couldn't have it in October because nobody would let us have it. So we'd have it in November.

[End Tape 1, Side B]

[Session 2, July 2, 1998]

[Begin Tape 2, Side A]

REINIER: Don, we ended the last tape talking a little bit about the Oktoberfest. Can you tell us about that?

MILLER: Yes. As I said yesterday, I can't remember the exact year that we started it, but I remember the original intention was a place to be able to get all the archaeologists together for a week, just getting together for talking, partying--nothing formal. We didn't have people present papers but to talk about what kinds of problems they were having on their forests and so forth, but in a very informal atmosphere. That went on a couple years that way. It started off in October, thus Oktoberfest. The other implications are the beer-drinking and all that. Then gradually the various foresters, my supervisor and some Forest Supervisors or staff people wanted to come and see what the archaeologists were talking about.

REINIER: Who was your supervisor?

MILLER: He was a fellow named Jack Williams. I think he was my supervisor then. Maybe he came later. Alan Lamb was my supervisor. He didn't much care whether we did it or not. In other words, he approved of it. And it was that way. Then the second or third year it was called "North Gap." That was because I think we held it on the Plumas [National Forest] because they had a nice campground and nice area. I think it was at a place called North Gap. Now my memory may be wrong there. You can always check with [Charles] Chuck James or somebody, but that's the way I remember how it came to be called North Gap. And I think Chuck James is the fellow who introduced that term. Thus it was called "North Gap" after that regardless of where it was held. That's sort of the history of North Gap.

But gradually more and more of the foresters became involved in it and it lost its impromptu Oktoberfestish atmosphere. It became much more of a formal Forest Service training program, which I didn't like at all. I'd always try to have a guest archaeologist, a specialist in obsidian hydration or specialists in C-14 dating, (carbon-14 dating), specialists in bristlecone pines, various specialists to come and give a talk at the

Oktoberfest or the North Gap, and that was fairly successful. We had the State Historic Preservation Officer's staff visit and give talks. And it was also a way for our people to meet these other people who were key individuals and other agencies that they had to indirectly or directly deal with in terms of their work in the field.

So that was basically the North Gap in the seventies. It changed considerably. I think there is a photograph that's available somewhere. It shows, I think, the second North Gap conference or Oktoberfest up in Yreka at a museum. It shows all the early archaeologists and my staff director then, Jack Williams, [who] were there.

REINIER: We have a list of these early archaeologists. Do you have some memories about some of these individual people?

MILLER: Oh yeah. Yeah.

REINIER: We talked about Mike Boynton yesterday.

MILLER: Mike Boynton was the first archaeologist to come on permanently. [1974] He was on the Modoc, which as I mentioned yesterday, the least impact forest had the first professional archaeologist. And I knew Mike Boynton from Chico State. He was a student there and I knew his faculty sponsor from my UCLA days, Keith Johnson. So, therefore, when

Mike graduated I tried to get him a job with the Forest Service and was successful in opening up a position on the Modoc.

[Henry G.] Jerry Wiley was on the Six Rivers [National Forest]. [1975] Now Jerry Wiley was from the Southwest. I don't recall how we found out his name or he was interested or what. I remember he came and I wanted to meet him. I didn't know anything about him. I was satisfied that he was a good, ethical person in terms of cultural resources. And he went up on the Six Rivers. And the Six Rivers was starting to have the first Indian issue. In other words, the [Karuk and Yurok] Indians with their cultural places and so forth. Me being a true archaeologist didn't know there were any living Indians left around. So I ended up getting in a lot of hot water with that.

REINIER: Tell us a little more about that.

MILLER: Oh. Well, that comes up in the seventies. They were doing an environmental impact statement on the Six Rivers and they wanted to include a section on cultural resources. I did the section, Appendix K [Environmental Impact Statement] was the famous name for it. All I talked about in the entire thing was archaeological research and sites

and who was there and early ethnography and so forth. Didn't go up there to talk to any Indians or anything. Well, everybody came unglued about that, I mean on the outside. We hired a guy named [Joseph] Joe Winter, who had a Ph.D., all the credentials, to go up and settle things and smooth things down. [1977] Which he did. He was very good with the Indians, working with them. This was all dealing with the Gasquet and Orleans Road--the GO Road--which the Forest Service wanted to build through on a sacred Indian location for timber access and for transportation. The Forest Service had planned on that for years and years and years, but they didn't do anything about it. Finally, when they did, everything came unglued for them.

REINIER: Did they ever do the road?

MILLER: No. I don't think so. Well, I think they might have paved what was there, you know just a surface pave. I'm not certain about that. You'd have to talk with [Kenneth] Ken Wilson on the Six Rivers.

REINIER: Actually, it reached the Supreme Court, didn't it?

MILLER: Oh yeah, it went all the way to the Supreme Court.

REINIER: There was a case [Lyng, Secretary of Agriculture et al. V. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective

Assn. et al] that went all the way to the Supreme Court [1988].

MILLER: Yeah. That was the GO Road. Ken Wilson went there representing us. By then he was the Cultural Resources Manager on the Six Rivers. He had his day in court.

REINIER: Yes, and I think that the case was decided in favor of the Forest Service, wasn't it?

MILLER: Was it?

REINIER: Yes, I believe it was.

MILLER: Yeah. Well, there was still a lot of compromise in it.

REINIER: There was a lot of compromise?

MILLER: Oh yeah. Well, I mean compromise in that the Forest Service did not do all that they had originally planned on doing with the road. In other words, they didn't use it as a major route for transportation. This is my understanding now. I could be wrong. They did surface pave it but they didn't build a four-lane highway or anything. It wasn't built for logging trucks except just to go in and come back out. But it wasn't built for them to get to Eureka or anyplace. [The final Chimney Rock Section of the GO Road was never constructed.]

REINIER: And the problem was that it was sacred sod for an Indian burial ground?

MILLER: Well, just a ceremonial area. Sacred mountains, actually. Where they would go up to pray. That was our biggest, one of our biggest cases out there in my tenure there. But it sensitized all of us, including me, to the fact that there are still Indians around and they weren't all just taking advantage of the government to get something. Now I had had some experience with Indians before I came to work for the Forest Service. I'd worked in the Southwest for a summer on an ethnographic field project out of San Francisco State. I worked with the Navajo, but working with the Navajo is about as different from working with Northwest Coast Indians, as the difference between Chinese and Germans. It's just totally different--different languages, different cultures, different traditions, etc.

REINIER: I had a quick question just to insert here. Did you ever train Indians themselves as para-professionals? To help you in locating and evaluating sites?

MILLER: No. I didn't seek Indians out. If an Indian wanted to do it, then I would find nothing wrong with that. As a matter of fact, the Six Rivers

ended up hiring a local Indian [Kathy Heffner-McClellan, 1975-1986], and she was very successful in building the program up with Ken Wilson. [1979] She was very helpful at the Forest Service in negotiations and dealings with the Indians up there.

So Jerry Wiley was there first on the Six Rivers [1974-1977] and then he went back to the Southwest. I always liked Jerry; he was a good guy. And, of course, that was when everything started; all the pressures started when Jerry was there. We hired Joe Winter who took Jerry's place for about a year. The deal was that he'd only be there a year to get things straightened out.

Jim Rock. Jim Rock came on early. [1975] I met Jim Rock in the Southwest. I was back there giving a lecture on something and I went around meeting everybody, being introduced to everybody, faculty and graduate students and so forth. And when I got back to San Francisco, I got this letter from Jim Rock. I didn't remember who Jim Rock was. And he had listed all the people I had met. He said, "I know how difficult it will be for you to remember them, so I kept track of all of them for you and here's a list." And I thought, "Wow, that's really nice of him, to think

of doing that." So the first thing, I called him or something, got in touch with him and it turned out he wanted a job. So we got him a job on the Klamath [National Forest]. Still is on the Klamath, got married and settled down there and made a career of being the Forest Archaeologist and its various transformations. A good man. A very good man. But he was there during the difficult early years, suffered the slings and arrows.

REINIER: What kind of slings and arrows?

MILLER: Well, just resistance to the program. Resistance to surveying every place they're going to disturb the land, and those kinds of things. We were asking for too much. That kind of stuff. It was the same all over.

Chuck James came on the Plumas [National Forest]. [1975] I remember I even went up to the Plumas to sit in on Chuck's interview. The Forest Supervisor up there named Pete something, his last name was Peterson or something like that. But they called him "Pete" and he was a mean old guy. But you know, likeable. Because I remember his meanness. I came up there in a Forest Service sedan from San Francisco for Chuck James's interview. It was pouring down rain and so I just

parked in front. And I got out of the car and I got soaking wet getting up to the porch of the supervisor's office. He was standing there and I didn't know him. And he says, "We don't park Forest Service cars out front; go park it out back." So I drove back in the back parking lot and there was no free parking. And I thought to myself, this guy is trying to put one over on me. So I don't know what I ended up doing. I ended up double parking somewhere and went in. We introduced Chuck James to him and he talked a lot with Chuck with me sitting there in the room. It was a very pleasurable interview and he hired him right there. So that was hiring Chuck James. And Chuck liked that country there anyway. I think Chuck had gone to Chico. He really liked the Plumas and did a good job. Took slings and arrows, a few of the same typical ones, people not wanting him to do complete surveys and all of that. I tried to help him as much as possible as I did with all of them.

REINIER: How did you go about trying to help them?

MILLER: Well, arranged to have a visit with the Forest Supervisor. Or just keep calling him and encouraging him to continue, that I would support him all the way, that kind of stuff. Chuck James

got in hot water in the eighties but we'll talk about that later.

[Steven] Steve Horne. Steve Horne is a guy who marches to a totally different drummer. He was on the Plumas. [1975] He ended up on Los Padres. [1975] He was a good surveyor and he could really record sites beautifully. Good surveyor. Good archaeologist all around. He was working on his Ph.D. at UC, Santa Barbara, and of course I knew a lot of the people there that he worked with. But I always liked Steve Horne. We'll talk more about him when he goes to Los Padres.

Then Mike Boynton on Modoc in '77. Yeah, I guess he was there in '74 for a little while and then he left and he came back in '77. He was there for awhile and then I think he went to the Mendocino [National Forest] after he left the Modoc again. The Modoc is just a place all into itself because there wasn't a lot of timber on the Modoc, very probably the smallest timber harvest forest in the region. There was a lot of historical stuff, the Modoc Indian War sites and a lot of geologic stuff, the obsidian quarries and just a lot of archaeological material.

[Chuckles] I remember when I first went to the Modoc, which was one of the first forests I went to, mainly because a lot of the supervisor's office--probably District Ranger's--people were all pot hunters. Pot hunters is a derogatory term for relic collectors, arrowhead collectors. So I went up and I gave them a little talk about archaeology and showed them "4-Butte-1." This one guy invited me over to his house for lunch. He lived right next door, a forester. So we walked out and I looked... They had a display case in their little lobby just as you come into the office and it had a skull--human skull--in the case with a projectile point stuck in it. You could easily see that it was fake because there was no growth around it or anything, you know, it was just stuck in. And said it was ten thousand years old or something. And female--ta-da-ta-da. And so I pointed out to him, "Well, you know, most of the statements made about that are questionable." And I said, "The person isn't very old because the sutures aren't completely closed over." Then I went over to his house for lunch and he had all these monos and metatit around his fireplace. So finally I just told him, "Did you know all that was illegal?" And that it would be

a felony if he were to be caught doing that, collecting those things. And he just shut up, didn't talk to me at all. The word got around that they weren't to collect artifacts anymore.

REINIER: That was one of the dangers to the sites, wasn't it?

MILLER: Oh yeah. And of course, that's one of the reasons they got Boynton, one of the first [forests] to get an archaeologist. Enough commotion was raised by my going up there and letting them know that. Because that was everybody's hobby up there. There's nothing to do in Modoc County, you know. Like I explained to Boynton, "You know, you got to expect it of them." And it turned out Modoc, as I mentioned yesterday, was the first forest to hire a seasonal archaeologist and a female at that, which was almost unheard of in the early seventies.

REINIER: Who was the female?

MILLER: Her name was Cathy Rapp.

REINIER: You mentioned that, yes.

MILLER: Then Gerry Gates went to the Modoc. [1977] After Boynton's short stay there. And Gerry Gates is still there. Gerry really wanted a job with the Forest Service. I met Gerry at some Society for California Archaeology meetings and I guess I was

impressed. Oh, I'm impressed with everybody, but I was impressed with Gerry. I just told him to apply and put me down as a reference. And that usually worked because I was the only archaeologist that anybody in the Forest Service knew. So if I was a reference then that helped out a lot. So he ended up getting that job up there. We had let a contract through my office, with me being the contracting officer's representative, for University of Nevada to do a big survey of the Modoc War sites. Well, first of all it was almost an impossible task because you couldn't tell where they... The wild obsidian and the cultural obsidian was together and all. Although they could have worked out. But anyway, the two graduate students they had on that did a really bad job and Gerry Gates pointed this out. I think Mike Boynton pointed it out also. So we didn't renew the contract with [the University of] Nevada and decided that it was a hopeless job and that we'd only survey that area in response to any proposed impacts or as they could get to them. Historically, it's a very important area. But then there are a lot of other sites on the Modoc up in the mountains, northern mountains and so forth, that nobody had ever visited, they'd ever

described. Gerry Gates had an interest in those areas. Did a good job. Still does a good job.

REINIER: Were those areas where Indians had lived?

MILLER: Oh yeah, yeah. Village sites. Campsites. Overnight sites. All kinds. The whole array of sites, ceremonial sites.

REINIER: Are we talking about the Maidu up there? Which groups are we talking about?

MILLER: Sort of a mixture, well, the Modoc [Laughter] was the major group. And, of course, Captain Jack and that whole story about the Modoc Indian Wars with its tragic ending, I mean from an Indian's perspective.

REINIER: What's that?

MILLER: Oh, Captain Jack was a... I guess they eventually hung him. But the vigilantes attacked and killed women, children, so forth. Well, that was going on all over Northern California.

REINIER: It was about the 1870's, wasn't it?

MILLER: Yeah. There's some real atrocities. Wait while the atrocities flow through my brain. Now, Gates stayed there. He should be probably retiring soon. And his wife. Apparently his wife has got a job on one of the districts. She stayed by him and got a job in the school district someplace and they worked together. I don't think they had any

children. And then, as you can tell, this is mostly Northern California, which is mainly an indication of how timber was the boss, was king, and the timber was being affected by cultural resources, by archaeology as we called it. We were causing whole big blocks of timber sales to be eliminated from cutting, from harvesting. They weren't doing timber sales down in Southern California. But mainly the damage down there was recreation uses and that kind of stuff. There wasn't that big of pressure being put on recreation, even though I was on the Recreation staff.

REINIER: Well, you started out in Lands and Minerals.

MILLER: Right.

REINIER: And then you shifted. Do you remember when you shifted to Recreation?

MILLER: Yeah. I guess it was when Jack Williams finally had enough of me and I had enough of him and then they transferred me to Recreation under Alan Lamb. He was a good supervisor.

REINIER: Was it better for Cultural Resources to be under Recreation?

MILLER: At that time, under Alan Lamb, yeah, but then later when they got a new guy I'd rather been back in Lands and Minerals.

REINIER: Did you want to comment on any more of the early people?

MILLER: Oh yeah. Denise McLemore, I think she started on the El Dorado in the seventies. She was the first one who broke the sexual discrimination barrier, or the allusion to it. And I can't remember what the argument was, but she and another woman were blaming all kinds of stuff onto me. And I finally said, "Wait a minute." I'd been consulting with some woman back in Washington or some place. But I hadn't fought it at all. As a matter of fact, I wondered why more women weren't applying and getting in Cultural Resources.

REINIER: Was this the time of the Consent Decree?

MILLER: I think that might have been starting then.

REINIER: What was their complaint? They didn't feel you were hiring enough women?

MILLER: I think that was probably it. Yeah.

REINIER: But you thought you were?

MILLER: At that time, yeah, we were starting to hire more women. Mainly it wasn't me anyway. Mainly it was the Forest Supervisors who approved the hiring of people. They were just getting used to hiring women in the other specialty resources, Fish and Wildlife and so forth.

REINIER: I know that Denise was active in that. In fact, we [Oral History Program, California State University, Sacramento] interviewed her.

MILLER: Oh yeah, she was good. It all turned out okay though as I recall.

REINIER: Did the women feel that the archaeologists were kind of a boy's club?

MILLER: Yeah. Yeah.

REINIER: Do you think it was kind of a boy's club?

MILLER: Yeah, but by default. Because there were mainly males. You go to any university, if you wanted to blame anybody, you'd blame the universities because universities were graduating male graduate students in Anthropology specializing in archaeology. Not many females came out at that time. I'm speaking of the higher degrees. But, of course, a lot of women are coming out with Master's Degrees, but not that many were applying. As a matter of fact, I gave a talk at Sonoma State [California State University, Sonoma] once in the late seventies I believe it was, could have been the eighties. David Frederickson is a pretty well-known California archaeologist, his class. I told them about Cultural Resources and Archaeology but then I encouraged them, if there were any social or cultural anthropologists in the class,

to think of cultural resources as a potential job, a potential profession. Because we're going to need in the future ethnographers and ethnologists to study in areas where the ethnographic record is still written, but there are also Indians around. I was promoting anything I could think of to promote cultural resources so it could keep growing and growing.

[End Tape 2, Side A]

[Begin Tape 2, Side B]

MILLER: I thought I might mention Kathy Moffitt in speaking of women in the program. She was the first archaeologist on the Sierra [National Forest], as I recall. She was a real fighter for women in the program. Of course, I agreed with her. She came from the Southwest. She was very impressed because we already had Region 5 regulations in the manual that dealt with cultural resources and how to report them and so forth in a cultural resources section. They didn't have anything like that in Region 3, the Southwest. So I remember that, that she was very impressed with that. And then she worked real hard on the Sierra which was a difficult forest because it was one of those forests that sort of transcends between the highly timbered forests and the not heavy timbered

forests. But a lot of projects, a lot of little projects and so forth. And you know the only thing you can do with contract... I should talk about that; that needs a bigger part in this whole thing, the whole role of contracting.

REINIER: Let's do talk about that.

MILLER: Okay. Well, it fits in here. With my insistence on professionalism, I told them the only way they could take care of things was to deal through me, let me be the contracting officer's representative. Hire a forest archaeologist. Or contract the review, all the contracting officers jobs, the representatives jobs, to a professional archaeologist at a local university or college. I tried to make sure that it tied in with a university or college. And also there was a whole flood of reports coming in to the Regional Office and there was no way I could review them all. So I'd just hold them up. I became a great log jam for a lot of projects in the field. And then there was always the thing. We had it in the manual that they had to have the approval from Cultural Resources. Of course, I tried to use that for me to get another assistant. So we started doing contracting for contracting officers representatives. Well, some of the archaeologists

we ended up hiring were originally those where they tied in with the Forest Service. We would have them review Forest Service work for usually it was fifty dollars a report. I mean just a field report, not a published report. That was the way most of the work was being done in the early days, through contract with universities and colleges and reviewed by me. If they hired seasonals, of course, then they'd save them to hire a seasonal [worker]. So a lot of the archaeologists, cultural resources, people getting their foot in the door, which is a phrase I used to use a lot--if they could just get their foot in the door--a lot of that was done by building up all these reports that weren't getting reviewed. And they had to be reviewed. So they'd have to hire an approved university or college person or student. And then I did the approval. So that was the way the whole contracting instrument worked. It worked very well for us because it shot the spotlight on cultural resources as being first of all something that had to be done. By this time the Washington Office was agreeing that it had to be done; the Chief of the Forest Service supported it and so forth. So that helped start the hiring of forest people, full-time.

REINIER: And by the end of the 1970's you had thirty or forty people on the payroll, didn't you?

MILLER: Yeah, counting seasonals. I used to cheat! [Laughing]

REINIER: Oh I see!

MILLER: Well, I counted seasonals. But I'd always toot the horn. I remember once I went to a meeting in Sacramento with my boss and a lot of [California State] Parks and Recreation people, as a matter of fact, all Parks and Recreation people. Our landscape architect, Wayne Iverson, and myself were there to talk about our programs and recreation staff. This was like on a Monday. The night before I had made up a list of all the archaeologists and all the forests. I remember I did it on green paper for Forest Service green and xeroxed a bunch of copies off to give to all the State Parks people. I remember one guy saying, "You have THAT many people?" Because the State still only had one or two. And I says, `Yeah." And they just flipped out about it.

REINIER: Yours [Region 5] was the largest program in the Forest Service, wasn't it?

MILLER: Oh yeah. The largest one in the Forest Service by a long shot. Of course, California was the largest in everything else too.

REINIER: We should ask you about some more people here that we mentioned last time. Last time you had talked about [Joseph] Joe Elliott [Jr.], your first boss.

MILLER: Oh right, Joe Elliott.

REINIER: As a fallen gladiator.

MILLER: Yeah, yeah.

REINIER: Tell us a little bit about Joe Elliott.

MILLER: Okay. Joe Elliott, as I mentioned yesterday, was second generation. As a matter of fact, I understand on one of the forests, I don't know which one, they actually have a Joe Elliott tree which is named after his father. My interpretation of it was Joe Elliott Sr. was a very... He was a Forest Supervisor and he was a very noted forester and worked his way up the ladder and all this kind of stuff. And his son sort of had to follow in his father's footsteps; that's the only life he knew. He grew up in the forest and the Forest Service. And he joined but he just wasn't his father. And so he ended up not working out too well in the field. They eventually transferred him to Regional Office. Somebody referred back to me some foresters, fallen gladiators, that's where they send the fallen gladiators, to the Regional Office. I thought it was a cute phrase and probably apropos. But Joe

was... After we had a few run-ins right after I came to work there, he pretty much left me alone.

REINIER: And he was supportive of cultural resources.

MILLER: Yeah. Yeah.

REINIER: People wanted you to talk about Carl Johnson.

MILLER: Carl Johnson...

REINIER: The first Forest Service archaeologist.

MILLER: Yes. With quotes around "archaeologist."

REINIER: Okay.

MILLER: Okay, Carl Johnson. I can't remember where I first met Carl Johnson. I was in the Southwest at some meetings or something and I met Carl Johnson. Or somebody hired him as a seasonal. I can't remember exactly where I first met him. But Carl Johnson was a peculiar looking little guy and just strange, you know. It's hard to describe him without sounding insulting, but he marched to a different drummer. Let me just tell you some stories. I was in Tallahassee, Florida on a trip to that region to give them some pointers on archaeology and why they needed one. They said, "Well, you know, last year we hired a guy named Carl Johnson to come out and look at sites." And I said, "Oh really." And he says, "Yeah." And I said, "Well, how did it work out?" He said, "Well, we took him out on the lake in the swamps

going out to a site and all of a sudden we heard this splash..." Now he insisted on driving the boat. He just wanted to do that. So they let him drive the boat and they sat up front guiding him and they heard this splash. He fell out of the boat and they got him. But he didn't fall out, he jumped out because he saw a snake and he picked this snake up. And they said, "That could have been poisonous, you know." So he insisted on keeping the snake. So they let him keep the snake. The next morning he came from his motel and he had this big bandage across his nose and the snake had bit him that night. [Chuckling] Every Carl Johnson story you heard was that kind of a story. You'd see him with his leg bandaged, he'd broken it doing something really stupid.

REINIER: But he was never in California?

MILLER: No, no.

REINIER: Oh I see. And people also mentioned Leslie Elizabeth Wildeson.

MILLER: Yeah, Leslie Wildeson was a San Francisco State student and we did some contracting with her. Not a lot. But she was the one I mentioned yesterday in that we contracted with her organization to do some work over on the Inyo [National Forest]. It

was just a big wild party is all it was and I was rather disgruntled about it.

REINIER: Did you do anything about it?

MILLER: Well, I didn't shut them down. But I certainly had the right and the authority to shut them down. But it was almost over with anyway and I figured well, why embarrass everybody and go through a bunch of paper. We just didn't do any more contracting with them. Yeah, that was really embarrassing. That was a big problem with the position I was in, was inwardly I was always having to try to keep tabs on what was going on on eighteen National Forests, and keep communication open with the archaeologists. And outwardly I was supposed to know who's doing the contracting, who's good, who's bad. I even tried to work up memorandums of agreements with non-California universities to work out a joint program for a Master's degree in Cultural Resources where they'd spend one season--I forget whether it was a year or just a semester--with the Forest Service at their expense and we'd pay them per diem or something. I got it all worked up; I spent a lot of time on it. That was in Idaho, the University of Idaho. And they let the whole thing fall through. They just got to a certain point, one

person transferred out of the department and nobody ever picked it up again. And I always felt bad about that. Because it would have been a real innovative and nice thing. But a lot of those things just didn't work out for one reason or another. And, of course, it was easy to think up things because everything was new. Leslie Wildeson, yeah, then we just never contracted with her again.

REINIER: It sounds like the contracting was less reliable, would you say, than the work that was actually done by the people in the forest.

MILLER: Well, first of all, I obviously could not review every contract. Obviously, I could not review even every proposal. And that was the thing that eventually I got all bogged down in, was having to review contract reports. I got in a lot of trouble with some of the other specialists in the Regional Office because they wanted me to serve on a contracting review board for some different specialty. There wasn't even any archaeology involved in it. I thought, well, this is something new. I can meet people, touch bases, make friends. And I went in there and I sat there and I started reading. Well, they gave us two days to do the review of the final report and the

final report was almost a thousand pages. And I thought to myself, there's no way I could review this in two days. So I raised my hand and I told the guy that was in charge--he was a wildlife biologist or something--I said there was no way I could review this in two days. "Oh just read the end sections. We can all do it in two days. I bet I could do it in one day." And I says, "That's not very professional." So I said, "Well, I'm not going to do this because this is just unethical." [Chuckles] And I got up and walked out. Nobody had ever done that before. So I didn't get asked to be on any of those again. Fortunately. Eventually we would have six or seven contract reports to review and there's just no way I could do it. And I had to keep my hand in it someplace to keep it Forest Service... Because the Forest Service is so decentralized. As a matter of fact, it's very proud--and I agree with them--for being such a decentralized organization. Like the Forest Supervisor is really the king. And the District Ranger. If I'm not there, if my presence wasn't known, then I felt the Regional Office would be completely out of a lot of work, a lot of what was going on. I wouldn't be aware of what was going on.

REINIER: If you're not there, you mean. If you're not going around to the forests?

MILLER: Yeah. Or reviewing reports or at least have people know that you did read it and approved it.

REINIER: So were you the one who made that requirement that you had to review everything?

MILLER: I thought I had to review everything that had Cultural Resources in it. Yeah. Archaeology in it, yeah. We didn't start calling it Cultural Resources until some time later. Pardon me for using both terms.

REINIER: I wanted to ask you, what role did the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation play in what you did? Did you have to send things to them for comments?

MILLER: At first we didn't. They weren't really set up in Washington. We'd have to send it to their office, it's in Denver. I went to Denver and met the guy who would be doing it and we became real good friends.

REINIER: Do you remember who that was?

MILLER: Oh, I can't remember his name. I was embarrassed the other night; I was thinking about him. And we were really good friends. We worked out a way that we would send things for [Section] 106 compliance there, but we wouldn't flood them with

things. And it was because he didn't have a staff. He was supposed to be doing it for all the agencies. And so I said, "Well, let me send you some with my review and if you approve of my review and so forth, we'll just float it by you and you don't have to review them or anything." That's the way I remember; we did some of them that way. But they had all kinds of confidence in us. And therefore the Washington Office wasn't involved until the Washington Office had started taking more control over it when Tom King went back. So we didn't have any problem with it. I can't remember. We probably did but I don't remember. I tend to forget bad things.

REINIER: [Chuckles] We all do. And then by 1977 Knox Mellon was the SHPO, the State Historic Preservation Officer in California. What was his role in what you were doing?

MILLER: Well, it was pretty much what the Federal Government was doing. They were supposed to be reviewing things and giving a stamp of approval on our work. So I went over there and I met [William] Bill Seidel and we became good buddies. We worked out a way we could do it without the impossible, you know.

REINIER: How did you do that?

MILLER: Well, once in a while I'd send him copies of stuff that we'd done and that I had approved. If he didn't agree with my review, then we'd work it out. But there was never any problem. Eventually we made it so the Forests could sidetrack me on some reports and then go directly to the SHPO. But by then we had it set up with the SHPO staff that they'd bounce it back to us. So there was more than one way to let the Forest know they had to deal with the Regional Office. I think we had that same relationship with the Federal Government out of Denver.

REINIER: So a lot of your role was this review process...

MILLER: ...Yeah. Yeah...

REINIER: ...Of what was going on in the forest.

MILLER: Yeah. But there were two levels. There was the level that I described yesterday where I personally was involved, wanted to know what was going on. But then there was the professional level, Forest Service level, where these things by law had to be approved although the regulations were ambiguous. CFR-800 is the implementing regulations for [Section] 106. CFR-800 was one that just made Forest Supervisors flip over because that really required specific language. You know, surveys, and evaluations and all that.

REINIER: And that was 1974...

MILLER: ...Yeah...

REINIER: ...That directed Federal agencies concerning eligibility for the National Register [of Historic Places], linking Section 106 in the 1966 Historic Preservation Law as amended by Executive Order 11593. Right?

MILLER: That's the way it is, yeah. They all worked together. I always tried to find out who the people were in Washington who were smart enough to do it that way. And I never could find it. I think I had the names once or twice and I forgot and lost their names. The people who were able to create a law that specifically dealt with historic preservation and got Nixon to sign the Executive Order. They did a good job and I always tipped my hat to them.

REINIER: That Executive Order...

MILLER: ...Is the key, yeah. It was the key. But the Executive Order was nothing but an implementing of the '66 Act. Because the '66 Act basically tells you to do the same thing.

REINIER: You said that when you went to the Forests you always had that legislation with you. What was the legislation that you brought with you?

MILLER: Right. It would usually be the '66 Act and the Executive Order.

REINIER: And the CFR-800 also?

MILLER: Yeah. Mainly the CFR-800 because that was just easy to read and you could get through it quickly. See, the difficulty personality-wise was that I didn't grow up with the Forest Service. So I didn't know whether I had a lot of power, I didn't have very much power. Because they would want you to believe that you didn't have it, like my boss saying that everybody gets an Executive Order. But I started realizing, wait, we had the 1906 Act, the 1935 Act and there was another one in between that and the '70 Act. There was in '66, yeah '66. And we had at least five MAJOR pieces of legislation that dealt with historic preservation. And I couldn't find any other resource that had five major pieces of legislation to conduct the work, Congress, the people authorizing the work. And I used to tell that to people.

REINIER: Did that give you power then?

MILLER: You know, they listened to me. A lot of them listened to me because I could catch fire and get involved. As a matter of fact, that Forest Supervisor came to my retirement party; he just

came along. I was surprised. I didn't even know he was a Forest Supervisor. The only thing he said at the end, we were commenting on my work. The only thing he remembered about me was when I first came to the Forest Service, he said I was so dynamic and I was so energetic and I was OUT TO DO THIS, to change the world. He said he hadn't seen anybody that excited about something in a long time. And I was. But then it started getting to me. Then just the sheer weight of it, you know, the doubts that creep up. Like the site I talked about which was the symbol on the Sierra with Kathy Moffitt, was so totally destroyed by more than one group, by people who KNEW it was a site. It was always in my mind that they were doing this. But what I didn't know wouldn't hurt me. But to see it once, then that started my whole thing about what am I doing running around? You know, as soon as I leave they go ahead and do it anyway. You know that. Of course, I don't know that but...

REINIER: And there's so many sites in California. There's so much Native American activity.

MILLER: Yeah. Think how much has been lost though. It's like when I had the argument down on the Angeles [National Forest] when they first hired [Michael]

Mike McIntyre. I didn't know McIntyre at all. But he was a local boy, he knew Los Angeles very well. And I had to argue that the Angeles National Forest was probably the most important forest in the region for historic preservation mainly because there's so little left. I says, "You look out that window right there and that big city out there and that city covers or replaces thousands and thousands of years of human history." I says, "There may be a few remnants. So we found a few remnants up here in these hills and that makes those things more precious." I said, "Every site on the Angeles is without a doubt eligible for the National Register." And I tried to get that into McIntyre. But the fact was he had the easiest job because all he had to talk about was destruction.

REINIER: Now once it was on the National Register, then did that save the site?

MILLER: I think they actually did. They put the whole Forest on the National Register.

REINIER: That's great!

MILLER: Yeah, I think they did. I remember that's what they were talking about. I thought, wow, great! And I think they did. I don't remember whether it went through or not.

REINIER: Was that effective then in saving the site? To be on the National Register?

MILLER: Yeah. Well, we used it that way. Well, it placed them in a different legal status too. In other words, if you were caught just destroying an archaeological site that hadn't been evaluated or anything, then you could get away with it. But if you attacked a site that had already been evaluated as eligible for the register. Of course, I used to tell them they're all eligible for the National Register.

REINIER: We've been talking a lot about archaeology. When did history and the importance of the historical sites become important to you?

MILLER: I always felt that historical sites were important because my work with "4-Butte-1," the movie, we were dealing with all the historical sites. Most of the sites that I'd ever excavated on as a student archaeologist were historical sites. I'd read a lot of ethnographies. So I personally had an interest in the history, the historical period we would call it in archaeology. Gradually I'd run into historians... OH! The big moment was at the state society of historians.

REINIER: CCPH.

MILLER: CCPH.

REINIER: California Council for the Preservation of History.

MILLER: Right. And I went to their organizing meeting. I was with the Department of Interior Archaeologist named Ward Weakly, who has unfortunately since died. He was a very weak person as Tom King would call him. Tom King said, "He was the most appropriately named person I've ever met, because he wouldn't do anything." But anyway, we were standing there and the first point of business was Resolution 1. It was all dittoed so everybody got a copy and I sort of skimmed through it. Basically what it said, basically it was getting all the historical resources to the historians and it's very narrow. I used to have a copy and read it in the office. But I'm sure there's a copy somewhere. Resolution 1 or whatever. And I finally raised my hand and I said, "You know, you people are cutting your own necks. There's the archaeologists who took a broader look at their profession." I put in the Forest Service and introduced myself, and I said we had thirteen, eighteen, whatever, professional archaeologists hired on the National Forests. I says, "Now, if you looked at the laws and all that and organized to go start meeting with these land-managing

agencies and tell them they need a historian, then you'd be far better off." I says, "Because if you don't do it yourself, the archaeologists are going to do it and they'll start calling themselves historians." That set everybody up and they started getting meetings about just that and inviting me.

REINIER: Then there was an effort to get historians in the forests.

MILLER: Oh yeah. Oh yeah, yeah. And I always felt, you know, it was like I was saying, but we have to work with archaeologists. It's better to get them through an organization because it's better for me to evaluate an organization like a university campus or something, than it is to evaluate each individual. Like we had one archaeologist under contract that was the world's worst. As a matter of fact, we should have sued him. We would have sued him except it would have cost us more to sue him. So our attorneys didn't want to do it. But he was a good friend of mine from a good campus, but still he was a rotten egg. We won't mention his name! [Laughing]

REINIER: Now the kinds of historic sites are not just those involving Native Americans but there also are

structures in the forest and logging and mining history.

MILLER: Archaeologists do that. Like Jim Rock on the Klamath, took a personal interest in tin cans and so he got all the literature extant on tin cans. He has a library on tin cans. He's identified almost all the tin cans on the Klamath. A few of the other archaeologists took interest and have done historical research. Well, [Pamela A.] Pam Connors is doing it now. But it's always been that piecemeal stuff. But now that we have Linda [Marie] Lux in the Regional Office, we should start getting the Forest to hire Forest Historians.

REINIER: There are some. Pam Connors and Dana...

MILLER: ...And Dana Supernowicz. But Dana's been there for a long, long time and he's still not full-time, is he?

REINIER: I thought he was, I don't know. We'll have to check.

MILLER: But that's just too long. In other words, I always felt that if I had started, and history would be the discipline for me to push, it would have been a lot easier.

[End Tape 2, Side B]

[Begin Tape 3, Side A]

MILLER: So, the history, I could almost cry every time I think of it. I was going through the correspondence files in the Regional Office, the historical files, the Office of Information and Education which changed their name to something else now. But they maintained all the old correspondence files and especially their photo files, photographs. They were obviously very cautious about not losing any of the photographs, but they weren't as cautious about not losing the old correspondence. So I managed over a long period of time to have that all transferred to Cultural Resources, which then was Archaeology. I was going through the old correspondence files one evening and I read this letter. As it turned out the fellow had started with the region when they first started a region in California. He was in the office down on Market Street and he worked all the way up to retirement in California in the Regional Office and then he retired. He lived over on Ellis Street or somewhere down near Tenderloin, and had died two years before. And I thought to myself, "My God, what a WORLD of information that man took with him." Because there's nobody around to interview him. And I would have made sure that we got... And I thought

to myself, I'm sure every historian in the world has had those things happen to them. But they just were a little too late and I just felt so sad about that. And it would have been good for him, too, you know, just that somebody cared.

REINIER: And then the whole history of the Forest Service itself is fascinating.

MILLER: Yeah. Yeah. [Chuckles] They had a guy back in the Washington office named Dennis Roth, R-O-T-H. And Dennis and I became good friends. [Laughing] Seems like everybody in Washington was a good friend, but not really. I invited him out, which meant we paid his way and everything, to celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Civilian Conservation Corps. So we set up things like that and he did a real good job. He wrote a speech. He had a photographic memory so he wrote a speech and didn't read it. We filmed it. But then the film people lost the film or something. So that was a touch with history and me. And I kept telling him, I says "Call yourself the Chief Historian back there, like the Chief Archaeology; you're a Chief Historian, you're not just a historian." But he just didn't have enough fire under him to really push the history program, and he finally went on to a different agency. And

they had him also in the administration branch. Apparently there was a big fight between Recreation where he should have been because of the manual and so forth, and Administration. Apparently there was a big battle between those two offices back there and Administration hired the historian and they weren't going to let him go. It was just as simple as a personality conflict. Because I know if we would have got him in Recreation, it would have been super helpful to help him build a program. And I didn't really push historians in Region 5 because I was still mainly battling archaeology. Most of the archaeologists could do material culture history. As a matter of fact, many of the archaeologists took a special interest in historic sites and so forth. So they would actually go and do documentary research to trace back the history. So probably some fairly good histories were written, or in document form on the Forest. But I wouldn't know.

REINIER: Where is all that material they saved?

MILLER: This is the other thing about Dennis Roth. One of the excuses as it were to get him out here is we wanted him to evaluate our storage problem and documentation and maintenance of documentation.

Because I was starting to get a lot of pressure that everything should go over to the service center, the record service center or whatever it's called, an [Department of] Interior agency. Well, he went over, came back to me and he brought some pictures and he says, "Here's the way they treat documents over there." And he had pictures of literally, cardboard boxes on the truck platform. The truck would back up and unload and the boxes were open, broke open, and paper spilling out. And I thought to myself [Chuckles], that doesn't go well with me! And so I fought not to send anything to the Record Center through a historian, through Dennis Roth, and his recommendations that we try to keep everything we could. Then most of the archaeologists would have the records for their Forests. So you'd have to go to each Supervisor's office.

REINIER: So those records still would be at the Forest today.

MILLER: Yeah. Right. I never called for them though.

REINIER: You contracted to use the laboratory facilities at universities, didn't you?

MILLER: Just a few times.

REINIER: Just a few times.

MILLER: There was only one project that I actually got myself involved in and I think this was probably in the eighties. We found a forester who was the archaeology coordinator, cultural resources coordinator, on the Mendocino [National Forest]. His name was [Lester] Les White. He was an engineer but very, very interested in archaeology and history. He was a second generation or more. His family grew up in the area and he's got a relative who's an Indian from the country. So he was driving along a road, and looked up at the road cut and saw some obsidian sticking out. So he went back and took a look and it was some obsidian blades, these large blades. And he called me down and we excavated very carefully and under control conditions. We had lines in and everything. And exposed them. They were all piled like they'd been buried in a little cache for storage or to hide them or whatever. Most of them were blanks. In other words they were just roughly hafted, roughly worked blades, large obsidian blades, not big ceremonial ones. So we ended up excavating those, recording them and so forth. And we sent them to San Francisco State for analysis. We'd had a contract for it. And I don't know, I think the guy who did it, who we had

a lot of faith in, just let the ball drop. I don't know if anything ever happened to that. The blades themselves should be either there or at Stanford.

REINIER: What would those blades have been used for in the Native American culture?

MILLER: They may have been functional, for cutting, cutting meat and so forth. They were bigger than the average hand things, but they could have been ceremonial. But in this case they were saved. In other words, a person sensed danger, and saved them, buried them real fast. Or whether they buried it knowing they were coming back that way and instead of carrying everything one full distance, they'd come back that way and pick them up. A lot of possible hypotheses on why they were there. There was a place that could have been the nearest trail, fairly close. Like they could have walked off the trail a bit. [Chuckles] And as I usually explained to foresters, Indians didn't necessarily always walk on trails, you know. [Chuckling] And historic themes... Like I think I referenced the one that brought myth in. That's history.

REINIER: We need to talk more about that.

MILLER: Yeah.

REINIER: We were beginning to talk about that. Can you tell us a little bit more about the myth and the ghost?

MILLER: I don't know how much I got into it yesterday.

REINIER: Very little.

MILLER: I was on the Forest, I think it was on the Sequoia. I was there. It was one of these "show-me" trips where I had the representative from the SHPO's office, State Historic Preservation Officer's Office, [Daniel] Dan Bell. Of course, Dan Bell just always wanted to have a good time. So I kept telling him, I says, "Dan, now when we're down there, get serious!" He says, "Okay, okay." Of course, everybody wanted to talk with Dan Bell because he was from the State Historic Preservation Officer's Office and they all knew that they had to be friends with those people because they're the ones that could shut them down. So everybody was real careful around Dan. They kept talking to Dan and I just walked away and stood about ten feet from them and watched them talk-talk-talk. And I looked over and I saw this forester across this little field. There was a river down below, or a creek, a major creek. And he got up and walked over to me, introduced, and he said, "Oh yeah, I heard you were coming

by." And he says, "You know this place here is sort of historical." And I said, "Oh really?" I says, "What happened here?" He says, "Well, it wasn't too long ago really. On this forest there's always been the story about some guy back many, many years ago that drowned right here in this river, a forester, and that some people actually hear his ghost." And I says, "Really?" And he says, "Yeah." I said, "Have you ever heard it?" He says, "Yeah." I said, "You ain't." So then you know he talked and left. But I got in a truck later I told him, "Look, you got so much stuff going on here." I says, "You got history, you got MYTH!" And I told him this story. I said, "That is something that should be documented." I said, "It will be lost forever." I says, "Here you got a piece of Forest Service history. It's little, but it's important and nobody's recording it." So any time I had an opportunity to push that, I would try to.

REINIER: Did it get recorded?

MILLER: I doubt it. It just did!

REINIER: Oh! Okay, good. Anything else like that we should record that you remember?

MILLER: None that I remember but I'm sure that... I came across them all the time. To me cultural

resources, the reason it became easy to call it Cultural Resources rather than Archaeology, strict archaeology, was because it did involve much more than just archaeology. Well, I shouldn't say "just" archaeology. I still think archaeology is the most critical because it's the biggest record and the most damaged record.

REINIER: But there's also historical archaeology.

MILLER: Yeah.

REINIER: Now, were you doing any excavating at historical sites?

MILLER: I think the Los Padres might have. [Chuckles] I'm sure there were historic sites excavations because several of the archaeologists were definitely oriented toward historic sites. I don't right off the top of my head remember any specifically.

REINIER: I saw on your resume that you yourself worked with [James] Jim Deetz at one point.

MILLER: Oh yeah.

REINIER: And of course he's a historical archaeologist.

MILLER: Oh yeah. He's a universal person. He's a little bit of everything. This was before I went to work for the Forest Service. I worked with Jim Deetz at La Purisima Mission. He taught me how to excavate a blacksmith shop. Although I wouldn't listen to him. I excavated it the way you would

excavate an Indian site and probably took ten times as long to excavate it than if I would have done it the way he did it, which was you just dig down to the roof top, photograph record the roof top, take it all out and then keep going. And I just took my TIME getting down to the roof top, getting it out. Yeah, that was quite a summer.

I think you might have asked a question at one point about the kinds of things that I remember the most, or if I could go back what would be the thing that I would like to do over again. I was thinking about this yesterday and I think it really would be--and I think it's this way with everybody--I think it would really be to go back to the first years when I was just a student on a dig and had that freedom that only a student, a non-supervisory role, had. And all learning, every day was a new lesson. In archaeology I was awed by the site I worked on, a historic Chumash site was just filled with artifacts. I just couldn't believe it. Go back and do that. Or even the first year or two in the Forest Service.

REINIER: In your years of working on the Forest Service did you discover new knowledge about Native Americans in California?

MILLER: Oh, of course, yes.

REINIER: What kind of things did you learn? I'm interested in the content.

MILLER: Oh. [Chuckles] Let's see if I can generalize. Well, certainly when you start mapping, when you start mapping these locations, you start seeing the pattern, the village patterns where they lived, which kinds of sites were where, which kinds of sites were never there and that kind of stuff by just looking at what you have and looking at the patterns. Because California's so complex, it's so difficult to talk about, prehistoric Indians at contact time, there were what, more than fifty different, mutually unintelligible languages being spoken in California. So with mutually unintelligible language, you expect differences, not radical necessarily, but differences in cultural behavior. On the other hand, the Valley Maidu--remember on Chico?--were more similar to other Valley groups, Valley Wintu into the North, than they were to the mountain Maidu. Because the Mountain Maidu are much more adjusted to mountains than the valley, and like most mountain people, they were always attacking the valley people. Those kinds of cultural generalities sort of hold in areas of California.

Knowing those things, a person, a forest archaeologist or a historian could formulate research questions that dealt to proving that. Looking at the ethnographic and historical record, I see this, I interpret this. But what's it really like out there? If this is true, I should find this here. But I don't or I do or whatever. So there's an excellent amount of research, but that's the problem. While I was there we were involved in saving sites, not analyzing every site.

And that's why I feel that the university, I blame that on the university system in that they were not training students to when they graduate evaluate sites. Or to evaluate resources, except in a very general way. Like there was one guy named Lewis Binford, who was a fairly well known American anthropologist, who was so controversial, they either loved him or hated him. He said something once that just knocked me on my rear-end. He said California is the most interesting research laboratory because you start down in Baja, California and it goes from some of the driest, inhospitable areas in North America and people live there. And you come up through Santa Barbara, which is only second to the Northwest

Coast in being plush and all kinds of food, year around food, easy and maritime orientation. And you go North and it continues getting more and more exotic 'til you get to the Tlinket and Hida, those high cultures. And it's all on this vegetation kind from dry, dry desert, to moist rain forest types. And sure enough, you know, you can see that. If you do, you find the archaeology sites like in Santa Barbara you get much bigger and larger sites, big ceremonial lodges. So those are the kinds of things that make California different than a lot of other places. And there's a historic period too, especially. Like I always said, I think I said it yesterday, that we could never have made a movie about any site in California other than historical site because it's history that makes that movie. It's not the archaeology, it's the history.

REINIER: What do you mean by that?

MILLER: It's the German pioneer who recorded this history. It's the colonel, Colonel Henley's documented record, Federal documents of removing the Indians a few days ago to the Numlake Reservation. At first they manifest their willingness to move, to leave their old stomping grounds, and they burned them all. There we were excavating the burned

wood. You see it in the poles. You just heard in the background the voice saying, "This is what the Indians did. They burned all their villages down because the whites were forcing them to the Numlake Reservation." "4-Butte-1" you have to watch three or four times. Because there's a lot of that in there.

REINIER: This is the sesquicentennial of the Gold Rush. I assume that you found evidence of the Gold Rush period.

MILLER: Oh yeah, especially on the Plumas. Chuck James took a real interest in the historic period on the Plumas. He found some early, about 1911, railroad logging film footage, 16 mm film. He had that preserved before it was thrown out. And he was very interested in the Gold Rush and the flumes and all that, a lot of that on the Plumas.

REINIER: Is there evidence of the impact of the Gold Rush...

MILLER: ...Oh yeah...

REINIER: ...On the Native Americans that you found?

MILLER: A lot of it in the documents.

REINIER: That's in the documents I know.

MILLER: Oh yeah. And in "4-Butte-1" we show that one Indian, one picture of an Indian just standing there. He was almost a copy of Ishi in <u>Ishi in</u>

Two Worlds fame. They found him wandering around in Oroville. His whole village had been wiped out. The white people used to go up there and just intentionally kill Indians...

REINIER: ...Yeah, I know...

MILLER: ...It was a sport. And they killed babies and everything.

REINIER: And [Albert L.] Al Hurtado has such interesting documents. [Indian Survival on the California Frontier (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988)].

MILLER: Al Hurtado? He's the guy I knew real well...

REINIER: ...Yeah, about what happened to Indian women.

MILLER: Yeah.

REINIER: Which I think is very interesting.

MILLER: Yeah, he's the guy I befriended most with the historic people. I guess he went back East somewhere didn't he?

REINIER: No, he's working now at Arizona State University. [University of Oklahoma as of 1998].

MILLER: Oh Arizona. I remember he left the state.

REINIER: His book on California Indians is so...

MILLER: ...Oh, I'd like to get a copy of that.

REINIER: I'll give you a copy of that.

MILLER: Oh would you? Just to borrow. Just to borrow.

REINIER: It's excellent, yeah.

MILLER: Oh good, because I haven't thought of his name.

REINIER: And I know that [James] Jim Williams, you have a report there that you hired Jim Williams to come in as a consultant to advise you on history.

MILLER: Yeah. I remember the name.

REINIER: Was that report to strengthen the hiring of historians?

MILLER: Could have been. I don't remember the exact thing. I remember the name Jim Williams. That thing finally blew apart. When my new boss, [Richard] Dick Benjamin, took an interest in everything and had a meeting with all the people from that historical group.

REINIER: Yeah, CCPH.

MILLER: Yeah, and he was presenting a program that basically, in my values, would have sold history down the drain a little bit.

REINIER: How so?

MILLER: Oh, it was just a program which mainly we'd hire them under contract to do certain kinds of things, our own choosing and all that. I felt it was better to have the historians look over everything and have more control. Of course, he was a forester and the foresters never did that. They just bought into it because of the money; the money was the only thing that would help them. I

sort of just gave up on them then after that. I felt they were missing opportunities for history, but I don't remember much detail.

REINIER: We have just a few more minutes that we can talk here and I had another question I wanted to ask you. That was that you said yesterday that in the seventies you had all the money that you wanted, you had lots of money. I'm interested in these budgeting issues.

MILLER: Well, when I first came there, they had already set up a budget for me. They had no idea what I would need. So when I started there, the first thing I wanted was a round-trip ticket to New York to go to a film society meeting. They -- "WHAT?" You know. An archaeologist. I told them about... Well, they'd seen "4-Butte-1." I says, "This film is being shown..." They were really reluctant because that was a lot of money. And that was probably the whole budget they had set up for me. So then I came and then I ordered all kinds of equipment. I ordered a quadrangle of every USGS [United States Geological Survey] sheet in California that had National Forest Service land on it, which is a LOT of maps and a lot of money. Then I ordered cameras, and various things that I figured I'd use in the field because I didn't have

any idea what I was going to do. There was a little notebook in my bookcase that had some yellow typing paper in it, only about three or four pages, which was my transcript of the first tape I made when I went to the field. And you'll get an idea of how really way off I was. I was going to do EVERYTHING. There's obviously no way to do it. So my budget was increased the next year. I don't remember really in terms of dollars but I never really wanted for money the first five years or so.

REINIER: Who in the Forest Service determined your budget? How did that work? Did you have input into that?

MILLER: Yeah. I had input into it. And I'd just always ask for 20 percent more MINIMUM, but 20 percent more than they had already put down. So the first years I was satisfied with what I was getting because I really didn't need much money. Just working out of an office and just the normal things that it cost, rental of cars and airplane transportation and so forth. Yeah, those were the halcyon days. Even the Forest Service airplane would fly me around once in awhile. So I felt like Mr. Big. [Chuckles]

REINIER: Is that what you mean when you say the "Halcyon Days?" What made those the Halcyon Days?

MILLER: Because I was the only one and nobody knew what I was supposed to do. I could ask for just about anything and get it. Except for staff of course. I remember when we hired Jim Johnston to be my assistant with qualifications. I remember telling Jim--we were on the third floor then and we had a little office and it held him and I comfortably with our bookcases--I said, "Jim just think, someday they're going to have a wire screen across that door there and tours will come by and it will be a museum. And they'll have this manikin sitting at this front desk and another one back there. They'll say this was Jim Miller and that one's Don Johnston, because you know how these historians are, they get the names mixed up. [Laughter]

Anyway. The budget, the first years I didn't have too much to do with it and I always had enough money. And if I didn't, they'd just give it to me from somebody else's budget. They always seemed to have had a lot of money then.

REINIER: That was through the seventies?

MILLER: Yeah.

REINIER: Now, if we fit this in, even during the [President Richard] Nixon administration, of course, when you were hired, there was enough money. And then...

MILLER: ...It started drying up. When I went in, still they had good budgets in the Regional Office. That may not be true for the whole Forest Service, but I wasn't hurting for money.

REINIER: And then in the [President Gerald] Ford Administration. And then in the [President James] Carter Administration was there lots of support for cultural resources?

MILLER: Most of the support that you get from an administration are lower than the president. It's from the Secretary of Interior, Agriculture, and so forth, or even lower than that. I don't remember that it changed much although the Western office was... I remember Jim Johnston and I went back on an inspection trip to Washington. Or no, we just finished, went down on to Cleveland and we were back in Washington for some ridiculous reason. We were having lunch and the Chief of the Forest Service came over and asked to join us. And he sat down and he asked to see our report, which we had been doing...

[End Tape 3, Side A]

[Session 3, July 7, 1998]

[Begin Tape 3, Side B]

REINIER: Don, we want to talk today about the 1980's. We were just saying at the end of the tape last time, was it the [President Ronald] Reagan Administration and the coming in of the Reagan Administration that began to cause the cuts in your program by about 1981 and '82?

MILLER: I don't believe so. My view of the way that the budgets work in Washington is that Reagan cuts might affect the Department of Agriculture. But then that means Agriculture will readjust through all of its programs in order to try to accommodate all of the programs in Agriculture, the Forest Service being one of them. Now it seems to me, just logic, that the programs that argue the most, the squeaky wheel in other words, for funds, will get it. So I was always trying to encourage the people I knew in Washington and the Forest Service was, do we have somebody there in Congress who was a good spokesperson for the Forest Service? And I

never got any real answers, or none that I can recall. But where it really affected cultural resources was by the time the money was divided up in the Forest Service. That was the critical issue. How would the Chief support Cultural Resources? And, of course, Cultural Resources was a part of Recreation, so it was mainly how do they support Recreation? And then what percentage would we get out of that? That would be divided at the Regional Office. So say Recreation had an increase of 10 percent over the previous year's budget. Recreation in San Francisco could use that for anything or they could use that 10 percent for Cultural Resources. In other words, you had to fight at every line for your budget.

REINIER: Why did you begin to have cuts in your program?

MILLER: Did we?

REINIER: Well, did you? Was funding a problem in the eighties?

MILLER: Oh yeah, yeah. Well, funding was always a problem. As the program built, it seemed like the funding commensurate with that growth was not appropriate. In other words, could be more. So we were asking for a lot more money than a lot of the people in the budget system thought of. In other words, why were we asking so much? I'd

point out, "Well, we have a big program now. We have archaeologists on every forest. And they have programs out there." Now, what they all decided to do, we were taking it from Timber Management. There was one letter that suggests that. So that was the way we got our funding, was through other budgeted programs, mainly Timber, which was the big program with the big budget.

REINIER: So the issue was just not keeping up with your expanded growth.

MILLER: Right.

REINIER: I see.

MILLER: And not really recognizing the program. Some people were starting to recognize it as an independent program, or at least should receive independent attention in certain cases like budget and so forth. But not all, not the key "decision makers." As a matter of fact, my vision was that eventually Cultural Resources should be a staff in and of itself, made up of historians, historical architects, and other people in the cultural resource writ large fields. That was what I always had in the back of my mind about where the program should be going toward. I don't think very many non-archaeologists or historians were thinking along those [lines], although they're

just starting to. When we got the historians at the state level, both private and state, interested in our program, they were very interested in "helping the Forest Service" in the sense of getting contracts and so forth.

REINIER: Now that report from Jim Williams, the historian, was 1982.

MILLER: Yeah. What did that say, that report?

REINIER: That was a report, really I think representing the views of CCPH, but it was solicited by you.

MILLER: Yeah. Jim Williams and I got along real well...

REINIER: ...The argument was that more historians needed to be involved in cultural resources management in the Forest Service.

MILLER: I don't know if anything ever came of that. Yeah, we kept pounding it there, but in the 1980's I started sort of giving up.

REINIER: What do you mean by that?

MILLER: The frustration level after going for ten years of developing the program and getting it to a point that it was really a program, I just started drinking too much, I started missing a lot of work. I just became fairly depressed all the time. I just wasn't in good health. And I didn't really know, I mean, you know how denial is. Denial is something more than a river in Egypt,

right? So I just finally quit, you know, because I just couldn't take it anymore.

REINIER: Was the stress of the program getting to you?

MILLER: Oh, yes, yes, yes, yes. It was more than I could handle. Well, the main stress was that I was still in the Regional Office, no assistance, managing a program that was exceedingly greater than any program that I had to manage before. At first I managed the whole thing. And then we started getting cultural resources specialists and so forth. But I always stayed at the same level in the Regional Office. We sort of I guess fit the Forest Service's concept of decentralization. But I'd argue that I needed historians, I needed historical architects. I used to work with the landscape architects, trying to devise ways of convincing. We needed a historical architect, even if they were staffed in the landscape architects division, section, whatever. I didn't care as long as we could show that individual in that specialty under Cultural Resources. And all those things were... It was just another big battle and I just didn't have the energy to do it.

As a matter of fact, when Dick Benjamin came, there was a BIG turnaround in the Recreation staff. The landscape architect, Wayne Iverson,

resigned. And he'd been there a long time. You know, ten-fifteen years. And he resigned primarily because of Dick Benjamin and just not getting his program any support. There was one time we went to Sacramento so Dick Benjamin could meet the staff director over there at Beaches and Parks. And they brought a specialist along. Dick Benjamin talked most of the time and then he gave Wayne Iverson [time to] talk about landscape architecture. So Wayne went on and on and on and on and I could see we were running out of time and I wasn't going to have any time to say anything. Well, I had anticipated this. I think I'd mentioned it earlier to you, I had already made up some sheets of paper that said how many archaeologists we had, the extent of the program and all that. So I just passed those out and everybody gasped, "We have that much?" And Dick Benjamin didn't like that at all. He wanted to keep that quiet for reasons I don't know. Maybe it was my paranoia; maybe that was the reason.

Then the other one was when Kent Mays (he was the Deputy Regional Forester) first came they had a big program for him to introduce him to people and so forth. They'd do this staff at a time so when Recreation... Well, I stayed in the office

all weekend making a flip chart based on Peanuts characters, of the Cultural Resources Program. You know, I'd have Snoopy doing this and doing that and so forth and a little bubble which would say this and that and little cartoons. I think Sonia [Tamez], myself, and Randy Milliken, who was a seasonal... And when I got up to start my talk May said, well, he was glad to meet everybody and left. It was like punching me in the stomach, knocking the air out of me. I put in a whole weekend and that's the respect you get. And generally that helped fan my paranoia that nobody really cared. I was just a necessary evil, as depicted in that letter [October 24, 1985] Dick Benjamin writes where he's coming out after me because I guess they smell blood. And so, blood there was. So I finally just decided they were really going to fire me for insubordination, or I'd have to resign. So I resigned.

REINIER: Well, there were a number of issues involved in this. For example, what was the issue when you charged non-compliance with the legislation and you were worried about court actions in Region 3 and that there might be similar actions in Region 5? Would you explain that to us?

MILLER: Yeah. I had a contact amongst the academic archaeologists in Region 3, and they just hated the Forest Service over there. They didn't like Dee Green who was the Regional Archaeologist. I could see why 'cause he was running a totally different kind of a program than we were running. The archaeologists in Region 3 found out about the program in California, and they were using that as an example of how the Forest Service program should be. In other words, our goal was to survey everything, not sample. And all those kinds of things. And we were on the phone a lot for a period of time there talking back and forth. They were going to start court action. I said to feel free to use us as an example and I'd be more than willing to explain to any court in the land what the legal obligations are. I got it from our attorneys; I know what the attorneys will say. They'll say we're legally responsible for complying with Section 106 and the Executive Order. And that's it.

As a matter of fact, my last big thing was what I called Oktoberfest. We had Dick Benjamin there and everybody and I was just really... I was depressed any time I was around him. [Chuckles] Without them knowing I had [Richard]

Rich Flynn, the attorney from OGC [Office of General Counsel]--he's a good friend of mine--and we had him come over and read Section 106 of the law and read the regulations and explain to everybody what that meant. And he explained it as an attorney would look at it. In other words, if you don't do these things--and he didn't want to discuss budget or all these other things--you are in non-compliance. You're breaking the law. And you're KNOWINGLY breaking the law because I see memos; in other words, Don Miller's been yelling and screaming. Of course, I used to run to him all the time to get ammunition to yell and scream. As a matter of fact, I always thought that was one of the smarter things I did. The first friend that I had in the Forest Service was Rich Flynn, an attorney. And I thought it was good to have an attorney as your first friend because you can find out if you're right or you're wrong.

REINIER: Was there resentment because you went to the Office of General Counsel independently?

MILLER: Well, not really. I did it so much but there was probably resentment later. But they do it all the time. All kinds of staff directors are going over to see an attorney and so forth. There may have been resentment; I don't remember that there was.

It didn't stand out in my mind. However, they started resenting it when I would be going so long. Admittedly, I wasn't always going to OGC. I'd just take off from work. So...

REINIER: Well, tell me more about Dick Benjamin.

MILLER: First of all, he was preceded by Jack Williams. I think he was first, yeah. And Jack Williams really liked archaeology. And I think Jack Williams was intellectually frustrated. He admired me because of the projected intellectual model he would put off on me because I was an archaeologist. And I didn't do anything to change his mind. But then he noticed that I was drinking a lot. Because I went to his place once and I drank about all of his scotch that he had in his place. So he got together with Rich Flynn, the attorney, and they had discussions about my drinking problem. So they explained it to me that I had a drinking problem. Well, what really upset me was Jack Williams then goes to Dick Benjamin and tells Dick Benjamin that Don Miller's got a drinking problem. Dick Benjamin probably wouldn't have known anything about it because he wasn't too sensitive to people's behavior. So then that started Dick Benjamin on a sort of a witch hunt, keeping track. Because he definitely wanted to

get rid of me. And I didn't ask why. But I remembered before I left when I'd already handed in my resignation, I asked Rich Flynn, "Were they going to get me anyway?" And he says, "Yes, they would. They would have had you anyway." Because they had investigators following me around, saying where I go, etc., etc.

REINIER: Why did they want to get rid of you?

MILLER: Because I was a thorn in their side. I was a burr under the saddle as it were. I wanted a staff in the Regional Office. I wanted more people and more money--grow, grow, grow. And I was always talking up Cultural Resources. I wanted historians. I was talking up historians. As a matter of fact, just the fact that I found out that Linda Lux was working over at Pacific Southwest Experiment Station, had a background in history and was a historian. I wrote a long, long letter to try to get her transferred over. She was already in the Forest Service. And I figure right there you overcome a hurdle and she's a historian. I tried to start a process which apparently worked eventually, to get her over to the Regional Office to be a historian. Those are the kinds of things that I still wanted. I wanted to round out the program and eventually make it an

independent program. Which I don't know, it will someday be a staff in and of itself.

REINIER: And not under Recreation.

MILLER: And not under Recreation. There is absolutely no reason that it's under Recreation other than somebody way back in history thought arrowhead collecting, which is what it was when I first came in 1970. When I first came to the region, the thing most people identified with archaeology was collecting arrowheads. And on most forests it was an acknowledged practice, a public practice. In other words, they would tell the public visiting the forest, to hunt arrowheads. They had it written right in their maps and stuff like that. It was even in the FSM! We had that turned around real fast. So that was sort of the mental idea of what archaeology was up to that point. What was your question again?

REINIER: Was there a difference in goals between Cultural Resources Management and Recreation? Was there kind of a natural conflict there?

MILLER: Well, the big conflict was that I wasn't a company man. In other words, I was not trained the way that Dick Benjamin and all the rest of them were trained. In other words, they started as junior foresters, they got a degree in Forestry, they

went through the system in how to become a District Ranger, how to become this and that and so forth, which was rather rigid. As a matter of fact, they just had females in it not too long ago. Now they are Forest Supervisors and so forth. And I wouldn't doubt if we had a Regional Forester sometime as a female. That same changing of the culture, Cultural Resources, because it's a tremendously huge program in terms of data base. It's got one of the largest data bases of any of the programs. There were more federal laws protecting historic resources than any other resource. And I used to recite them to everybody. So there's just no reason why it isn't separate.

So anyway, the reason it became part of Recreation was because it was arrowhead collecting, that was a recreation activity. So they just put 2360, which is the code number, the manual number for Cultural Resources, which is the code. "Special Interest Areas" is the real title of that. So to give us a title so it could be in the manual and file stuff appropriately, we got 2360, Special Interest Areas. I always thought, you know, that doesn't say very much. We should have one that says "Cultural Resources" or something like that. I think they might have

changed that, I'm not sure. Every once in awhile we'd have some friendly person in the Washington Office who would be very supportive. We even had a Chief once, Chief Cliff, I already mentioned, who was very supportive. But it's the staff people. Timber was king, and if you had Timber Management arguing with you, then you were just treading ground, treading water.

REINIER: Didn't your money come out of Timber Management? How did that work?

MILLER: If they had a timber sale and they were preparing it for sale and it had to have archaeological surveys done, that was all budgeted. That was money transferred from Timber to wherever the archaeologist was, usually in either Recreation or in Lands. But it tended not to really make any difference where it was; the money was transferred there. We didn't have an independent budget; at least at that time there was no independent budget. We existed in support of other functions.

Of course, what I wanted to see was that Cultural Resources would be a function in and of itself. Because I realized, as I think most of the archaeologists realized, a lot of them made use of it, is that there were a lot of really interesting things that can be done, like just one

comes readily to mind. I went up to the Plumas once, Chuck James was there. This is on the weekend, Chuck James and some citizens from Quincy were up cleaning out the old pioneer cemetery, cleaning all the weeds out and putting up new fencing, and making it look real nice. Well, that was contributive, but it was a Cultural Resources event. It was an historic event, and people liked that. If that would have been advertised as a Forest Service sponsored activity... In the Forest Service we got so many miles out of the local community for work done like that. And of course there were myriads of things that historians and archaeologists could do to help the Forest Service in terms of public image. That was a big frustration.

Joe Harn, the Supervisor on the Six Rivers, I think he appreciated the fact that they could at least get the Indians on their side if they had people who could talk to Indians. And there was the other area. I wanted to hire an ethnologist. I was the person who taught the Regional Forest Service how to pronounce "ethnology." I thought that we should have an ethnologist to work with the Indians, mainly in the Northern part of the state.

REINIER: You had Joe Winter I know for a while, but did you ever get anybody to work with Indians other than that?

MILLER: No. The other day I gave a big preamble about professionalism. Joe Winter was primarily hired over there because he had a Ph.D. He had worked a lot with Indians, and he's very, very, very easygoing. And he just went in there. I wrote him a letter saying I dissolve any of my associations with the GO Road and the Six Rivers and turn it all over to you, Joe Winter, and signed the letter: a formal letter, to Joe Winter from me. Joe and I got along pretty well. I just let him handle it and he handled it beautifully. He got everybody all calmed down up there about the GO Road and all that and he came out in favor of the Indians. The Forest Service didn't want to hear it, but he told them that the GO Road was going through sacred lands and it should never have been designed there anyway. I mean it had always been an old dirt road. The Indians used it to get back into that country. But they wanted to pave it into a two-lane highway big enough to carry logging trucks. Because we had cut a lot of miles off their transportation of logs to the coast. That's the one that went to the Supreme

Court and they ruled in favor of the Indians. [Chuckling] But that woke a lot of people up in the Forest Service, I think.

REINIER: So did the Timber people even by the eighties still think that archaeology was just an obstacle to be overcome?

MILLER: No. I think the Timber in general and maybe overall, by the early eighties, Timber recognized archaeology as being part of the program. Couldn't get rid of it; it wasn't going to go away. As a matter of fact, in their planning Timber would... You know, they were great planners. They had people, that's all they did all the time was draw up timber plans and program plans. They were putting Cultural Resources as an element. It started showing up in the manual under Timber Management. It's a part of the manual the Regional Manual. Cultural Resources started showing up as an element that had to be taken care of. So it's getting in there in the early eighties, yeah.

REINIER: In some of these materials in the eighties you charged that there were sales being made in which the legal requirements had not been fulfilled for cultural resources. Was that actually the case do you think?

MILLER: Oh undoubtedly. Undoubtedly. I mean we saw it all the time. They weren't on top of every sale. They were getting in the manual; that didn't mean everybody followed it. You remember I told you that story the other day about the site on the Sierra where Kathy Moffitt and I just broke down crying because EVERYBODY knew that was an archaeological site. But they just went right ahead and plowed it under anyway.

REINIER: Was it that you didn't have enough resources in order to do your job on all those sites?

MILLER: The main thing is we had a big enough program in terms of personnel to have a program. We didn't have enough personnel to supervise in the fieldwork. In other words, when I used to leave the forest, I knew very well that they could turn right around and do exactly what I recommended their not doing. I would never know it because my time is too valuable to go back and check on them two days later. And similarly with the Forest Archaeologists, they were just covering all the programs for the forest and it was very difficult for them to go back and check. But with the forests it was a little easier for them because they were there all the time. They were part of the family, and so they were probably in closer to

Timber Management and the Timber people than I was in the Regional Office. Because when I left the Regional Office, I didn't know any of those people.

REINIER: Were you getting discouraged then that the resources were being lost?

MILLER: I was being discouraged because of that. Of course, that was always a part of that the game as it were. But I was also very discouraged because without a growth in personnel I just couldn't manage the program. The other thing was I couldn't fit--and this is probably the most telling--I couldn't fit into the management mode, in other words, be a manager. I even went and took courses in management, in how to be a manager. It just bored me silly. I was always violently against the way they graded you--a supervisor would give you grades--because it was so subjective. I remember I graded Sonia once when she worked for me and I gave her all 10's, which was the highest you could get. And I just gave her all 10's. My boss, I guess Benjamin, it might have been Benjamin. He said, "You can't give all 10's." I said, "She's perfect. She's absolutely perfect." So I don't know what they ever did with that. I'm sure Personnel did

something. I took a course in that from the Office of Personnel Management. I think it was a two-week course. I was enlightened that they had figured out in OPM [Office of Personnel Management], a good, objective way to grade people given those kinds of standards and so forth. And I got all this material and I was going to go back to the Regional Office and train some people in Personnel Management and try to get a program of training where we could teach people how to evaluate people's performance. I gave this guy all my stuff and he lost it.

[End Tape 3, Side B]

[Begin Tape 4, Side A]

REINIER: Don, we wanted to talk a little bit more about some of your conflicts with Richard Benjamin.

MILLER: Okay. Generally, what comes to mind is I don't think Dick Benjamin really supported Cultural Resources. He came from another region that didn't really have a Cultural Resources program as I recall. He was a Recreation man through and through. When I was with him in other agencies, meetings, he would never reference Cultural Resources and barely reference Landscape Architecture. There was just generally not much. But when the pressure started coming on, pressure

from the State Historic Preservation Officer, the SHPO, and the Advisory Council in terms of Section 106 compliance and so forth, then he took notice and took an interest in the program. So then he wanted to be the leader of the program. We'd go to these meetings and by this time I was becoming very, very tired of the whole process. Once he found out that the program, there were other people looking at it, state and federal, then he would come to meetings where we had meetings with state and federal people. I remember we had a meeting and I can't remember what the meeting was all about, but we had everybody there. Dick Benjamin was there and I just wouldn't even participate in the meeting, what they were talking about. Finally Steve Horne from Los Padres raised the question that, "Don Miller is the program leader; why aren't we hearing from him?" And that was exactly what I wanted everybody to notice was that nobody was hearing from me. In other words, he didn't say, "Don wanted to do this, da-da-da-da-da..." He was willing to take it all. And that was more or less the kind of personality he had. As long as he saw a benefit to him and his own career, then he was a good person to have on

your side. But I never got along with him. I just didn't like him personally.

REINIER: Were there lifestyle differences between the two of you?

MILLER: Well, obviously there were lifestyle differences. There were probably specifics, but I just can't recall what they were. I'm sure there were specifics. But I was getting a little paranoid. I didn't think that he was really supporting the program. I felt he could have been supporting it more.

REINIER: He was from Montana, wasn't he?

MILLER: I'm not sure.

REINIER: Well, some people have asked what the "Montana Mafia" was.

MILLER: I don't know. Doesn't ring a bell with me. He could have been from Montana.

REINIER: Okay. I don't know anything about that really.

MILLER: Never heard of it. Or if I did, I don't remember. But because of that freeze... Because he didn't support the program when he arrived, I was probably interpreting it--rightly or wrongly--as being against the program and trying to de-emphasize its effect on Recreation and so forth. And this was always the trouble in the Forest Service. You had things happening at the

regulatory level in the Forest Service manual, in laws, Executive Orders, etc., in the Forest Service Manual. But then you had individuals who could either decide to follow the Forest Service Manual to a T, or not to follow it. Or just skirt around it, or just be in minimum compliance. There was a whole bunch of things they could do to keep their job but to not really follow along with Cultural Resources. And there were several people in the region who were Recreation staff people on individual forests who fought the program. Of course, on the other hand there were Recreation staff on some of the forests who thought they were archaeologists. They just loved it and they got along wonderfully well with the Forest Archaeologists. It's a two-way street. But I don't think Dick Benjamin ever really supported the program although I'm sure he'd be the first one to deny that, my accusation. Alan Lamb, his predecessor, was good because Alan Lamb knew enough to know my regulations that I worked under. Although he would not encourage me, he would not discourage me either. In other words, if I wanted to do something, all I had to do was let him know and let him know the reasons why I was doing it or I wanted to do it and he would let me do it.

The one thing I remember was a couple of our seasonals on the Plumas were killed in an automobile accident. And so they were having a memorial service. Even though I didn't know them personally, I'd met them. I wanted to go to this memorial service. I thought it would be good to have a Regional Office representative. Al Lamb didn't think I really should. But I quickly let him know that it would be just good for the forest to see me come down from the region, out of this tragedy. So he let me go. But even that, there was a little hesitation there.

When I first started in the region, you had to go on a forest, you have to have written permission to visit the forest and it meant more paperwork was generated to go visit a forest. But I quickly just did away with doing that. I just didn't do it. I'd go. I'd arrange everything by telephone. I got in trouble with some Forest Supervisors for showing up on their forest and they didn't know anything about it. So that was when I learned that you had to let the Forest Supervisor know you were going to be visiting. So I managed to do that after that.

I remember once... I was always pretty good at joking around with them. I mean I wasn't

intimidated by Forest Supervisors. I was visiting Los Padres and there was this Forest Supervisor, he had a presentation of self as a sort of a hard-nosed guy. But as soon as you knew him, you knew he was a milk toast. But very efficient and so forth. I was sitting in his office talking with him, visiting the archaeologist, and he had a picture on his wall of an old cabin. I had the same picture on my wall; I don't know how many prints were made. It was a photograph, and the title was something about "Our Forgotten Past" or something like that, something to do with history. And I smiled and I says, "Did you put that picture up just because you knew I was coming?" I said, "Do you have another picture with a lot of wildlife when the wildlife biologist comes?" [Chuckles] Joking around with him. As I mentioned the other day, the thing we had going for us is everybody's interested in history.

REINIER: What was the last straw with you and Dick Benjamin? What happened that brought you to the point where you felt you should resign?

MILLER: [Coughing] The last straw... [Coughing] It's hard to say what the last straw was. It was sort of cumulative. The things like when I mentioned just a while ago about having prepared a talk for

the new Deputy Regional Forester and had him walk out on it. You put on programs that people just ignored or made fun of.

REINIER: Made fun of, what did you mean by that?

MILLER: Well. They didn't really make fun of it, I did it myself. I had a program, I think I mentioned this the other day, too. I want to clarify something to do about this Oktoberfest thing. We went out and the first time we had it, we had it out at the Regional Office and it was held in Yreka and it was just for Forest Archaeologists and me. Well, my boss showed up anyway, Jack Williams. And the photographs are out on that. And then it got so more and more foresters would come to those. And then I started getting heat on me because we didn't do it the Forest Service way. In other words, there wasn't training associated with it. There wasn't any typical Forest Service training program. So for the archaeologists, I tried to get specialists in obsidian hydration dating, specialists in various techniques in archaeology that were being developed and were being done on or adjacent to the National Forests to come and give a talk. So that was working along pretty well. But then just to get to have those put on every year was a big task. I was losing interest

because it just seems like I wasn't getting anywhere. It seems like no matter what I did, I just...

[Interruption]

MILLER: I was just getting tired of having to fight for everything always. And then I was becoming afraid that what they really wanted me to do was become a forester. And I had fought that so long, it was just difficult for me to do it. Although I was starting to go out on program reviews with staff directors from Timber and staff directors from Fish and Wildlife, and Forest Supervisors, all the bigwigs, I still wouldn't stay in the same motel they did. Now a lot of that was nostalgia because in the particular case I'm thinking of, it was in Fresno and they stayed at the plushiest place. And I stayed at the Golden Key Motel because that was one of the first motels I ever stayed at when I went into the field in the Forest Service. So I had nostalgic memories of that. But I just couldn't become a staff director type unless it was, of course, Cultural Resources. But I couldn't "hobnob" as it were the way they wanted me to. And that was my fault. I mean I really should have been able to do that. Because I noticed our archaeologists who were able to do

that, have a much more successful program. So that was one of the reasons I realized I should probably leave and have somebody younger come in and take over.

REINIER: There were issues with Richard Benjamin too about signing letters.

MILLER: Well, I had those issues with everybody I ever worked with. There was a strict signing authority in the manual and I always ignored that signing. If I wanted something, if I wanted people to know, especially the archaeologists, if there was a 2360 letter, file designation letter, I'd sign it. If it was specifically intended for staff directors and above, I'd prepare it for Dick Benjamin or anybody, the staff director's signature. But I thought it was so phony to write a letter to the archaeologists dealing with technical archaeological matters or compliance matters that were very technical, and have Dick Benjamin sign the letter, when everybody knew he didn't write it. And I thought, "Come on everybody!" So I'd sign those letters and Dick Benjamin would get all out of joint about that. But it just seemed to me ridiculous, that something the Forest Service could do without was this old traditional line of authority. So. I mean, we knew who the bosses

were. So that was the whole signing authority thing. But I did the same thing with Alan Lamb and with Jack Williams. They just got over it. Because I pointed out to them that if it dealt with something of staff importance or above, then sure, I'd write it for their signature because their signature had more weight than mine did.

REINIER: In the materials there was an early controversy between you and Jack Williams about your using the word "silly."

MILLER: Oh really?

REINIER: Uh huh!

MILLER: I don't remember that. [Chuckles] I remember I had a hard time introducing the word "Ms." when I first started. You'll get a kick out of this. The first phone list I had when I started with the Forest Service had little asterisks by a bunch of women's names and I said, "What's that mean?" And they said, "Well those are married women." [Laughter] The idea was so you could write M-R-S. But I just started writing Ms. And they said, "Well, you can't do that." And I said, "Well, everybody's doing it now." Then everybody started doing it.

REINIER: Did you begin to feel like it was you against the agency as time went on?

MILLER: No, it wasn't that feeling. That was always to some degree there. But I didn't really feel like Don Quixote attacking windmills or anything. I just felt tired. I was just tired of nothing happening. In other words, programs sure were growing out on the forest level, but those programs were now no longer my concern really. They were the Forest Archaeologists' concern. And in contracting. I'd still be involved with contracting, but they were doing so much contracting I couldn't possibly be a contracting officer's representative on half of the contracts that were going. So I'd relinquish more and more of my contracting. It was getting down to when I just really didn't have too much to do, that I could feel that I was really a contribution other than keep fighting for things like staffing and independent budgets. Budgeting started in Cultural Resources either in the late seventies or early eighties. But it was just lobbed off Recreation budget instead of it being lobbed off of Timber. Which made it a little tougher because the Recreation budget wasn't all that big. I just got tired and I decided to quit. I started drinking pretty heavily and I started missing a lot of work because of the drinking. I just felt

well, this isn't doing anybody any good. Even had Forest Archaeologists come down and take me to a hospital to get a lecture by a doctor on drinking and alcoholism. That's how much they loved me. So I thought jeez, if they know it then... Of course, I was never available. So I just resigned.

REINIER: Did they offer you another assignment? Was that what actually...

MILLER: No, that was a trick. In other words, I could get a year's pay, severance pay. I'd be paid every pay day for a year after I left as long as I was turning down their proposal to move me to some place else. And I could say I can't move there because of the home life or something and then they would be forced to pay me for a year. Which was what that was all about. Because they had a job offer up in Region 6, which wasn't really available. They made it all up. At my wishes. No, I was leaving and I decided as long as I'm leaving I might as well make it as lucrative as possible. So then we had a big party, a going away party which they didn't know about, the archaeologists.

REINIER: Tell me about that.

MILLER: There was a rumor from Ken Wilson on the Six Rivers that I was going to resign. I got back on the phone and I said, "No Ken, you got it wrong. The landscape architect's going to resign. Wayne Iverson is resigning." "Oh, I misunderstood it. Yeah." So then we had our annual meeting, the Oktoberfest.

REINIER: This was in 1985.

MILLER: I guess, yeah. And I told them [Michael M.] Mike Moratto was going to give an evening lecture. And Mike Moratto, of course, is one of the big guys in California archaeology. But I never even invited Mike. He didn't know anything about it. And I says, "He'll be on tonight so you guys come back tonight. It's a special session, and hear what he has to say about whatever..." About half of them showed up. So I told them, "I just want you to be here because I'm resigning from the Forest Service," effective the end of the month or whenever, soon as possible. Could have knocked them over with a feather.

REINIER: So what did some of them say at that party?

MILLER: Well, most of them were just flabbergasted. They all knew. They all knew why I was doing it because they knew I was getting so I just wasn't effective and I told them that. I says, "I'm not

effective. I can't serve you from the Regional Office anymore. I can't be nearly as effective as I should be so I should leave and that's what I'm doing, leaving." So they understood.

REINIER: Did you feel that the agency had played fairly with you?

MILLER: It's hard to answer that because given the circumstances, given the environment, given the history, they played fairly with me. But I was concerned with the future and in that sense they didn't play fairly with me. In the sense that anything I won, anything that I got that was something I wanted for the program, like the first Forest Archaeologists or the first this or that... I fought getting zone archaeologists, even though we got one in the southern part of the state. And that's an example of why I thought not to do it is because once they got a zone archaeologist, they'd never hire a full-time archaeologist.

REINIER: A zone archaeologist?

MILLER: Yeah, covering two forests. And I went down on the Angeles and gave them a lecture down there after they hired McIntyre full-time there, and another forest, maybe San Bernardino, somewhere. And I pointed out, I said, "Look there, Los Angeles down there, you can see it where you're

standing. Think of all the sites that are lost. And the few that are remaining are here on the Angeles National Forest. It's going to take five archaeologists to cover this area." My vision was a different vision than their vision. My vision was a story I told you the other day about non-physical cultural resources--the ghosts, and ghost stories. Those were the kind of things I saw as a part of cultural resources management. And I knew that if you'd just sell it to some people, they'd buy into it. Of course, once you attach money to it, then you're in another ball game, once you start taking their money. So it was just frustrating me to no end. And as I say, I kept drinking heavier and heavier.

I remember one of my last public meetings was Fritz Ridell, the State Archaeologist, had been the first State Archaeologist, was retiring. So we had a big retirement party for him over at his house. I had a real nice proclamation made up acknowledging his assistance, which was true, his assistance in helping the California program, the initiation and development of the program in California. Everybody thought that was really nice. "Fritz," I says, "as you can see I couldn't get a bigwig to sign it so I had to sign it

myself." [Chuckles] My kudo to him was, the guy who took his job was named John Foster and he had a brother named Dan Foster, a younger brother, who was the archaeologist for the state of California timber people, whatever they're called, which is a big outfit. I was at a meeting in Sacramento, and computers were just coming in and people were talking about all kinds of things. I didn't have the slightest idea what they were talking about, modems and stuff like that. And all of a sudden this guy, this young guy, he raises his hand, he says, "I'm not interested in that damn stuff. I'm interested in site records! I've got to know where the sites are to protect them. And I've got to get the records." And I turned to someone and I said, "Who's that guy," and he says, "I don't know." I said, "Did he work for Fritz Ridell?" And he says, "Yeah." And I says, "That's where he got that attitude!" [Chuckles] But it was a little telling sign where archaeology was going. It was getting so that there were a lot of people just sitting around in offices having meetings about boring stuff and I hated meetings. I hated meetings. Committees and stuff like that. Ooohhh. I even went to programs, training

programs, and I still couldn't like them. Phillip Drucker, yuck.

REINIER: [Laughing] Who's Phillip Drucker?

MILLER: He's a big name in organizational management.

REINIER: Was that because the field work was always really your first love?

MILLER: Yeah, probably. Probably. And way down deep inside, whether I'd acknowledge it or not, I was an archaeologist. I always told everybody, "Never be ashamed to be an archaeologist, and never spell it without the A-E, because Jim Deetz told me once, `If there's any word in the English language that should remain spelled in its archaic form, it should be archaeology.'" And I says, "That's one reason. The other reason is because the Department of Interior drops the A and that way we can always tell if the correspondence came from us or them!" [Laughing] The reason they dropped the A was they had a big budget thing several years before where somebody decided if they dropped that "A" they'd save X thousands of dollars in a year.

REINIER: I noticed that people from the Bureau of Reclamation dropped the "A."

MILLER: Yeah, all the Interior Departments should drop it.

REINIER: Oh that's very interesting. Don, what did you do after you left the Forest Service?

MILLER: I just stayed drunk for a year. Then I just went on welfare for awhile, swept streets, used to sweep Market Street every morning. Met some nice people. Then I got drunk once and I fell down a flight of stairs and I ended up in the hospital with a bad back strain, but I got over that. Then the next time I had a problem that got me in the hospital here for the rest of my life and that is the alcohol and smoking. I was almost killing myself from smoking, so I haven't had a cigarette since I've been here. So I'm breathing pure oxygen too. Then there was some damage to my liver. Not cirrhosis or anything, but scarred liver. So they're very careful about making sure I don't get any alcohol.

REINIER: Um hmm. Now looking back over your career, we can talk a little bit about these kinds of things. What do you take pride in the most?

MILLER: Goodness. Can't say there would be one thing that I took pride in the most. There were a lot of things that I can remember...

REINIER: ...Doesn't have to be the most...

MILLER: ...Going Whoopie! Any recognition that Cultural Resources got from the overall programs was always exciting to me. Forests hiring their first archaeologists was always exciting to me. That

was a big problem and I don't know if I covered this before, but the big problem in the beginning years was the forests wanted to re-train their own people to do the work. So we put on a para-professional training program with Tom King. Paid him too much, but he put on a good program. So we trained a lot of people from every forest and that allowed them to go out, find the sites, record the sites, prepare a report which was all a form, Archaeological Reconnaissance Report or ARR. It had to be reviewed for significance by a professional archaeologist or historian. It was that review, in other words, a determination of significance was the thing that would make it in compliance with [Section] 106 and everything else. It had to be a significant cultural resource. Even though I would tell everybody that EVERY archaeological site is significant, we still had to have it documented. So that was an exciting thing when we had that implemented. The Forest Service just bought into it for the wrong reasons. They bought into it because it was allowing them to break away from the Regional Office and to get their own specially trained people to do it. Of course, that made it easier for the forest, which was good. But eventually what it did was it

brought them closer to the academic people in nearby colleges. Because we recommended that they contact, and we'd name an archaeologist at the local nearby university or college. Some of them would do it for fifty dollars an ARR or something like that.

[End Tape 4, Side A]

[Begin Tape 4, Side B]

MILLER: I wanted to bring up a case that sort of ties with this cooperation with academic and other archaeologists with the Forest Service. There is an archaeologist named Anne Peake, worked out of Sacramento, was a graduate of Sacramento State. And she ran a private consulting firm to do archaeological work. She contacted us and we let her know that she'd have to have permits from which ever forest she was going to work on and to make sure that she coordinated with the Forest Archaeologists, etc. Well, I always liked Anne Peake. She received a lot of criticism from people because her field techniques were sloppy. They were afraid she wasn't finding all the sites, etc., etc. Mostly criticisms they had of Anne Peake were criticisms you could probably have on almost any archaeologist. I always felt subjectively that their antagonism to Anne Peake

was a little bit more than that. So somebody brought charges against Anne Peake on professional grounds before the, I think it's the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation or it was a national society that had a judicial arm to it. And they were going to meet in San Francisco and have a court case with her there and bring these charges against her. And I was going to be one of the key people. And they would call me, okay, you'll be there at this time and that time and so forth. And I got to thinking about it and I got to thinking, I don't like this. This is terrible. And I says Anne Peake may not be the sharpest person in the world and all that, but she doesn't deserve this. So I just didn't show up. And, oh, they were shocked, these people. These were the big names in North American archaeology. They were so shocked I didn't show up. I just said, "Well I couldn't make it." So the whole thing fell apart. They didn't bring charges against her and all that kind of stuff. So I always tried to support Anne Peake. But I'd be firm with her and especially the people she hired as her assistants. They were just totally bad. I'd have meetings with them and I'd ask them simple questions, but I'd intimidate them so much because of who I was

that they'd just get all flabbergasted. I asked them, "Well how did you know to look over there for obsidian flakes?" And stuff like that, which there should be answer, even if it's just, "Well, I just thought there'd be something there." But that professionalism thing was the only part where it started getting a little bit out of hand. I thought to myself, no, I don't want it to turn into that kind of a profession where we're getting people in trouble. It's better to work it out. So that transpired with nary a shake. The end. End of story.

REINIER: Are there things that you would have done differently as you look back on your career?

MILLER: Well, undoubtedly I would have. Knowing what I know now, obviously, I would have streamlined my acceptance a little more. In other words, I would have tried to be more acceptable to the other major programs than I was. But I doubt if I would have done that anyway. I can't think of anything off the top of my head that I would do any different. Given that the times, what they were. So I don't know...

REINIER: When you left the Forest Service, where did you think the program was headed?

MILLER: Where I thought the program was headed I figured would be totally up to whoever took my place.

REINIER: Sonia took your place?

MILLER: No.

REINIER: Who took your place?

MILLER: The lady that's there now. [Judy Rose, Historic Preservation Officer, Region 5] What's her name? I can't remember her name. [Laughing] They probably had acting. I know Chuck James came in and cleaned off my desk which took two weeks. So they generally had people coming in on detail handling things. Then they got a Forest Regional Archaeologist.

REINIER: What was Sonia's role then?

MILLER: When we first hired Sonia she was a seasonal on Mendocino, I believe. That's where I met her. She ended up getting a job with Bureau of Land Management in San Francisco. It was one of the Interior departments in San Francisco. And she worked with them for a year and then she got on with the Forest Service in the Regional Office. I think she was my assistant for awhile. Because she liked land management plans and I hated land management plans. She did land management planning reviews and she just loved it. So she liked that so much she ended up going into land

management planning. The director of land management planning liked her so much that they sort of forced her out of Cultural Resources, out of Recreation. I was always a little bit disappointed with that. But I figured that's what she wants. But it just seemed like so much effort had been put in there. In other words, I put in a lot of personal effort in her coming in and maybe being a forest archaeologist some day. But she liked that planning stuff. [Chuckles] Silly girl.

REINIER: What would be an ideal program or a model Cultural Resources Management program? If you had the best possible program?

MILLER: All levels?

REINIER: Yeah, all levels. At the Forest level, at the Regional level, and at the National level.

MILLER: Well, the National level and the Regional level would be pretty much the same. The advantage of the National level was that they'd have ties with other national organizations in [Department of the] Interior, etc., in [Bureau of] Reclamation. A lot of other agencies hired archaeologists. But a lot of them probably had programs that I wouldn't even think of. I'd say the Regional level the ideal program would be a staff in and of itself, with a budget in and of itself. It would

have all the major disciplines in historic research. Archaeologists, historians, maybe architectural historians. Maybe areas for myth. Ethnography, ethnology combined. Would be there for leadership. Then depending upon the need--like you probably wouldn't need an ethnographer down on the Angeles, but you would need ethnographers on all the Northern forests because there are still lot of Indians up there. And there's a lot of them practicing traditional ways. And the whole thing about myth. There are myths in the Forest Service, myths everywhere, to be collected and recorded. So I'd say archaeologists, ethnographer, ethnologist, historian, architectural historian, somebody into myth. I know I'm forgetting somebody important but I can't think [of it] right now. And that would be a staff in and of itself, would be truly a cultural resource, have all the resources that could be subsumed under the cultural. That would be the ideal. Next question?

REINIER: Is there anything else you'd like to add?

MILLER: I'm proud of the Forest Archaeologists. I think more than anything else, especially the original ones, or the early ones because they put up with an awful lot of hardships. And managed to make it

work. So I'm proud of all them. Gerry Gates, Ken Wilson, Jim Johnston, Winfield Henn, Steven Horne. All of them. Mike Boynton, although he left. So that's who we owe things to.

REINIER: Well, thank you Don very much. I've really enjoyed chatting with you.

MILLER: You're welcome.

[Interruption]

REINIER: Don, since we're chatting with a few more reminiscences, let's put it on the tape.

MILLER: Okay. We were running a training program up on the Shasta Trinity, just north of Lake Shasta and Steve Horne was one of the teaching assistants during this particular session. I was in a Forest Service car and I was driving the Forest Supervisor out to where we were running. He was interested in seeing what we were doing. Steve was in a government car behind us. And all of a sudden I noticed in the rearview mirror, Steve had stopped, and stopped next to a car with civilians in it. And he took a pine cone away from them. [Laughing] Went on their way. And we stopped a little later and Steve pulled up and he's just laughing his head off. And I says, "What's that all about?" He said, "I just told them that it was illegal for them to collect pine cones on

National Forest land and they could be fined five thousand dollars per pine cone." Of course, the Forest Supervisor sat there and I'm going, "Oh gawd. I'll never hear the end of this one!" And Steve just thought it was so funny. And I said, "Oh, okay, Steve." But the supervisor didn't mention it. I guess it was just so obvious what he thought. But he started complaining then he'd like to see the archaeologists shaved and not come in showing up with beards. I told him I had no control over that. Steve Horne was a little bit of a rebel. I don't know what reminded me of that.

REINIER: Well, I asked about the kangaroo dance.

MILLER: Oh yeah, the kangaroo dance was one of sessions we had every year which we originally called the Oktoberfest, but it kept getting its name changed from one thing to another. Its population changed from just Cultural Resources people, archaeologists, to a little bit of everything. As a matter of fact, that's one of the things that sort of depressed me was that it got so we couldn't have any time together as specialists. It may not have been a malicious thing on the part of foresters and others to be there with us. They might have done it just because they liked

archaeologists and they wanted to be around them. But to me I was always depressed because it wasn't that one time of the year when we could get together. Whether we did anything or not, but we could hash things over and feel some sort of camaraderie. And maybe it was time to let that go which is probably true.

Now the kangaroo dance, as far as I know, that was Chuck James who was in on the Plumas, Forest Archaeologist. That was something he brought from the Southwest. The Southwest archaeologists had big parties and they'd do the kangaroo dance, which was sort of an Indian dance hooping and hollering around the fire. And he did it once and it didn't catch on. To my knowledge it never happened again. It stopped being called the Oktoberfest. It kept changing names, mainly because the foresters, the supervisors wanted it to be called "training session" or something like that. Sort of like when they put on a training session. And, of course, I couldn't tell them it wasn't a training session because then we wouldn't be able to do it at all. So it kept getting its name changed. I can't remember what some of the names were.

REINIER: North Gap.

MILLER: Yeah, North Gap. I can't think of why "North Gap" other than it's obviously a geographic reference. I can't remember whether Chuck introduced that from the Southwest because somewhere there was a North Gap Conference and so that's what we called it. But I don't know why. In other words, I think it was Chuck's idea, so we just did it. Gradually there was becoming less and less a way whereby all of us could get together alone. That's the way that was.

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[Continue Tape 4, Side B]

REINIER: Don, you had a few more things that you wanted to add after reviewing some of the documents.

MILLER: Yes, after reviewing the long letter from Dick Benjamin to me. I don't remember the date...

REINIER: ...October 24 [1985].

MILLER: My letter of July 16 [1985] to him which essentially outlined the program, I thought was a well-done letter and his response to me where he was getting on me for not being where he thought I was. Essentially I read his letter as just setting me up to fire me or get rid of me one way or the other. In reading those letters together it reminded me that I told a number of the archaeologists that Dick Benjamin was a hit man and he was sent out here especially to get me and bring the program to a halt if not a setback. And by reading that correspondence it refreshed my memory. Although he would deny anything, he was actually setting in motion various things--budgets

and so forth--that would reduce the program, and not giving it the support in the field that his predecessors did. Dick Benjamin was definitely a cause for a setback.

REINIER: When you said "sent back," does that mean sent back from the Washington Office?

MILLER: Oh, I don't really know. I don't have any idea--because there were a number of good people in the region who had put in time and were good professionals who should have been promoted to Regional Director of Recreation--why they would bring in somebody from the outside. And then there were rumors which were just that, rumors, that he was an expert at getting rid of people and tearing things down and rebuilding them in his image. Now I'm more reaffirmed by reading those correspondence that that was true thinking.

REINIER: Don, why did they want to get rid of you at that point?

MILLER: Oh, because I was still pushing for the program more than ever. I was still reminding everybody of all the laws and regulations and that there were many more regulations for Cultural Resources than anything else. As a matter of fact, I was expanding my arguments by including history and ethnography and all the other specialty expertise

that we needed in Cultural Resources. So rather than "putting it on the back burner" as Benjamin wanted me to do, I brought it forward to the front burners and turned the gas up.

REINIER: Was there anything else then that you remembered that you wanted to add?

MILLER: Oh yes, communication. My best form of communication to the field was the California Log, which was the Forest Services Regional newsletter which went to everybody. And my theory was that I could go out to a ranger district and out to a sub-station on a district that was so remote it was only used half the year and I could go in and I wouldn't see any sign of a manual or any sign of anything. I'd either find Playboy magazine or the California Log. And so I decided, well, I'd hit that. I made friends with the people who put out the Log in the Regional Office and I asked them, I said, "Why is it every time I have an article for the Log it gets published?" And they said, "Because we're just dying for people to write articles for the Log." So I was assured of being able to get anything I wanted in it. So there were quite a number of messages that I got out to the field through the California Log, which probably got further and deeper into the

organization than anything in the manual or any of the kinds of things that Dick Benjamin thought I was doing wrong or subservient to the Forest Service. That can't be neglected. That was my main source of communicating with everybody.

REINIER: Did people feel that you were circumventing the chain of command by doing that?

MILLER: No. Curiously enough, nobody ever complained about any of my Log articles. And most of the Log articles were historic preservation oriented. A lot of it sort of tear-jerker stuff, kind of emotional stuff. And then some of it factual like the introduction of an amendment to a law or something like that. That was a strange thing was that everybody would get on me about letters and signing authority and all that and I'd be putting out these articles in the California Log. Even when I got an award by the Society for California Archeology, I wrote a great article about how proud the Forest Service was of me for winning this [Chuckling] prestigious award and all this kind of stuff. And made it look like somebody else wrote it. Anyway. That was my major form of "informal," I guess if you will, communication.

REINIER: Don, I also wanted to mention that you've been recently recognized by the Society for California

Archaeologists and you also continued to be professionally active. Would you tell me a little bit about that?

MILLER: Well, I don't know if I've been professionally active. I mean I try to keep in touch with things. But that was all a surprise to me. There was an award for twenty-five years of history of Society for California Archeology, SCA. By the way, I was the first president of that. Did I mention I won by one vote? My assistant at UCLA was the balloter. And I was accused of fixing it, but he was a very honest guy and I'm sure he didn't. So that was what that award was for. And I was very flattered. And that was Ken Wilson on the Six Rivers who set that whole thing up. Which I have yet to thank him, but I will. Yeah. That was a pleasant surprise. But I don't keep in touch with the Forest Service much anymore or any of the archaeologists. Once in awhile they'll get in touch with me, but not very many. As a matter of fact, a lot of them I don't even know if they know where I am. Of course, I'd welcome hearing from them. It's difficult for me to correspond because of my breathing problems; just leaning over a desk to write is terribly uncomfortable.

REINIER: Don, are there any more memories that have been evoked by your looking over some of these materials?

MILLER: Subjectively, reading that letter that I wrote on July 16... As I remember I really put a lot of work in those letters and I liked writing good letters. I liked introducing language that wasn't common in the Forest Service, vocabulary. And not to show off, because at most in any letter, if I did at all, I would only introduce one word or something. And I remember one of the reasons was I was on a District once and some guy came out to another forester and said, "We got another one of those letters from the Regional Office." And I don't remember who the letter was from, it wasn't from me. But it had "serendipity" in the letter and they had to run over and get a dictionary, look up "serendipity." And I thought that was good. I thought we should use new words and let people go look it up. And you'd learn to use the dictionary. So I always thought of that case as an example of not to talk down to people. Teach them to talk your language or at least understand your language. So that was another thing they brought out.

But the other thing that really brought out, and it was almost pathetic. I mean I could have cried reading Dick Benjamin's letter and how iron clad his mind was to the "Forest Service way." To signing authorities. To various things that I'd been fighting against or compromising with since I started with the Forest Service. And here they bring in a new guy and he starts in like I'm back in 1970, talking down to me and this and that. And many of the things in there--sure I was starting to take off work without announcing anything--but a lot of my value system was not formed in the Forest Service. My value system was formed in academia. In academia you had much more personal authority to do things, especially if you were a research archaeologist as I was at UCLA. Running a program you could always find that the best work--I always found at UCLA anyway--the best work that I could do and the best achievements were done in spite of having a Director of the Survey over at the Department of Anthropology. Matter of fact, the Director of the Survey, my first year, just came over once, came over to meet me. And he had heard that I was doing good work at the Survey and making a big hit. We were getting a lot of contracts for students and

getting in the press a lot. And it was bringing, you know, a good name to UCLA. And then we'd have UCLA open house--that was my big annual production. It's sort of important to mention this in passing, I would take the students of the survey, they're all volunteer students unless we had some money to hire them as temporaries. We'd go over to Haines Hall which was the Department of Anthropology on the third floor, and first of all, we'd completely empty the physical anthropology lab room. Then we'd completely assemble an archaeological field camp in that room and we'd work all night doing it. We'd have the transet set up. We'd have all these things that archaeologists use set up so that the public could come by and look at air photos through stereoscopic lenses, the whole nine yards. And it was the most popular event in Anthropology. And I made a big hit for the archaeologists. But those kinds of things I was always prone to want to do.

[Interruption]

MILLER: Back to just a little bit of tie-up on the Dick Benjamin scenario. I really feel, especially after reading some of the correspondence that you left with me last week... But definitely he was a hit man. And he was not just alone coming out to

tear down the program, but he was out to tear me down, to get rid of me. And I don't say that with any sense of paranoia or anything like that. I just realize it after I re-read the letters. He wasn't paying any more attention to me and the program, and it comes out in his letter. He was there to find dirt on Don Miller. And Don Miller was not behaving in a manner that was totally foreign to him. As a matter of fact, the first friend I met in the Forest Service was one of the attorneys...

[End Tape 4, Side B]

[Begin Tape 5, Side A]

REINIER: Don, did you want to continue a little bit with some of your thoughts about Dick Benjamin?

MILLER: After having re-read the correspondence you left with me last time, my letter of the 16th of July, 1985, and then his letter of a couple months later in October. I saw there exactly what I predicted at the time and I sort of let it slip my memory, that he was a "hit man"--my phrase--sent out here to tear down the program and/or get rid of Don Miller. But I was convinced after re-reading his letter of October 24 that that was the first stage in getting rid of me. Now as I was about to say earlier, my behavior, first of all, was based upon

a value system that I've already explained. I was from academia, I was not a forester, I was not raised in their tradition. So you would expect my values to be somewhat different and my behavior to reflect those values. As an example I could give, I think it was my second month there I had already befriended one of the attorneys in the Office of General Counsel, Forest Service attorney. One afternoon after lunch instead of going back to the office, or our respective offices, we'd had a little bit of wine with our lunch, were feeling pretty good, so we went over to Washington Square to a carnival. We were on the Ferris wheel yelling, laughing and having a great time. A couple of people from the Regional Office were walking by going to catch a bus or something. Because it was only a couple of blocks from the Regional Office. They just were amazed that we weren't at work.

Well, I didn't abuse that, but once in a while I'd just take off. And I'd usually tell the clerk or so forth. But then I got so I would just tell them that if I'm not back, I'd try to call. If I don't call, I took off. And I worked out an informal agreement that I wouldn't have to be worried, like doctor's permission or something.

And that was the ultimate, when I read that he told me that, to get a doctor's note that I was sick. To me that was always the ultimate in non-trust. In other words, it was like a little boy having to bring a note from Mama why you were out of school last Monday. And I just totally objected to that, who he thought he was and that whole attitude. As is known probably, I didn't like Dick Benjamin very well. So that's all I can think of to talk about him.

REINIER: Well, Don, do you want to kind of sum up your feelings about those last years in the Forest Service?

MILLER: Well, first of all, my all and all feelings about the Forest Service is it provided me with a good career. I had an opportunity to leave my mark and to ensure that Cultural Resources or Archaeology would never become totally subservient to a forester mentality. As I told the archaeologists at our last meeting, that I wanted them to always spell archaeology the correct way and I wanted them always to be proud that they were archaeologists. And regardless of whether the name's changed or if they had to wear uniforms, none of that made any difference as long as I knew they were archaeologists first and foresters or

whatever else they wanted to be second. And that was my last professional feelings and I believe speech too, to the archaeologists. My feelings about my leaving were, frankly, I was just worn out. I'd started drinking a lot, missing a lot of work and just sort of threw in the trowel as they say in archaeology.

As a matter of fact, at a Society for California Archaeology meeting... One of my trademarks was on my necktie I'd wear a little tie clip which was a little trowel. Marshaltown trowel is the symbol for archaeology. So I'd wear that. My last meeting I walked up to Tom King and I says, "Here Tom, this is for you." I took it off and gave it to him. It was a symbol that I was leaving and also my feelings toward him. And he characterized it as, "That was when Miller threw in the trowel." So, yeah, they were sad days to leave but I knew I had to leave because I just no longer had the courage or the "right stuff" if you will, to fight those same battles again and again. Every time they'd bring somebody in new you'd have to start back at zero. Plus the added factor that I knew that they were out to get me and I would be an easy target. So that's when I resigned.

I'll never forget the day I resigned. Dick Benjamin and I were having a correspondence back and forth, arguing about this and that and so forth. It was just going on and on and on. Finally one day I said, "Dick," I says, "I think I'll resign." And he jumped up and it was the happiest I'd ever seen the guy. "You will!?" And I says, "Yeah." I says, "Only under one condition though." I says, "Give me a directed re-assignment so I can turn it down and get paid for a year." And so they did. That afternoon the letter was all written for the Regional Forester's signature. And the irony of it was, that afternoon after the Regional Forester had signed the letter and I'd signed the letter refusing the offer, Zane [G.] Smith [Jr.], the first time he ever called me on the telephone or ever spoke to me--well, he spoke to me at meetings--he called and acted regretful that I was resigning. He said, "I'm really sorry to see you leave." Could have knocked me over with a feather. But I left nonetheless. The big regret is I left a lot of friends. But I knew they were all capable people and they really didn't need me anymore. So that was the attitude I had when I left.

REINIER: Do you have some words of advice for those friends?

MILLER: Advice? Well, just keep up the good work. They know. Well, of course, there'd be lot of new ones coming in that didn't have the same training they did. In other words, they're not as completely academic. They may not have master's degrees. They may have Bachelor's degrees and then a lot of training in CRM [Cultural Resources Management]. Which I can see as being appropriate. But I don't know that I would have any advice that would really be worth listening to.

[Interruption]

REINIER: Don, we were just chatting a little bit more and you were talking about what a really fine archaeologist you have been in your life.

MILLER: [Chuckle] Yes, at the chance of sounding egotistical. When I started in archaeology in 1958, I believe, I was on a field school north of UC, Santa Barbara and I was from City College, Santa Monica. I really liked archaeology. This was Field Archaeology what we would call "dirt archaeology." The whole idea of excavations, not only in concept but in actual fact was very enjoyable. I enjoyed it. I worked two seasons in the field, first season; the second season they

made me a supervisor. Of course, there were only three people that I supervised, and you didn't really have to supervise much. So I was usually good enough at it that I was usually asked to be the director of this or some position of direction or supervision. And I always said, well, the reason was that there were so few people in the field, so few archaeologists. I could name them on one hand in the state. Yet I'd be doing all these extra curricular things, like trying to get UCLA contracts from the State and Federal Government, trying, but doing it. And then hiring our UCLA students as crew members and then running what I would consider and what the state archaeologists considered the best archaeological field school ever run in California when I ran the Field School for UCLA up at Chico. That was where "4-Butte-1" was made. That was always a feeling of gratitude that I had for doing it. But to be able to do it, you had to have the freedom to innovate. When you were in a position of responsibility as I was in the Forest Service as Regional Archaeologist, you had to have the freedom to do it, to innovate. My history as an archeologist was one of being able to handle leadership and supervisory positions.

I had one job at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, primarily as an illustrator. I did a lot of pen and ink illustrations for journals and stuff and I was never so bored in all my life. I mean the whole concept of a museum mole is true. After a little while you're just no longer socializing. You're just stuck in a museum and everything in there is dead. So I didn't like museum work after that. Following that I went to work at UCLA. Good friend. I always wondered who did it, but there was one person had to be responsible for my getting the job at UCLA. I think it was Jay Ruby, the guy who went back to teach at Temple [University]. We never talked about it.

Yeah, those were the good days. Once I got "out of the pits." That's a Tom King phrase. He ran an article in a newsletter called "Out of the Pits." That was when he got interested in government and legislation. But once I got out of the pits it was never the same again. I guess it's like when you go on any first time event, as a historian or whatever, you know it'll never be the same 'cause if you're good you'll be "promoted." And many's the time I always would like to have been able to sneak off to another

state, sign up for a field school and come on as a freshman and act like I didn't know a thing. I used to dream about doing that. Or going to a convention of archaeologists and not have anybody know me. Because I always remember the first time I went to the Society for California Archaeology, known then as the Southwestern Anthropological Association, which was the only professional association. I remember the first one I went to. Well, the first one I went to after I went to one to give a paper. The first one I ever went to, just as a member of the audience, I remember just sitting there and thinking, wow, it's good, I'll always remember this, sitting here and nobody knows me. Because it was different after that. After that people started to know me from this or that or this rumor or that story. And then you just can never go back.

REINIER: Do you think maybe the qualities that made you a good, innovative, exciting archaeologist were perhaps the same qualities that made it hard to work for the Forest Service?

MILLER: Oh yeah. That had something to do with it. I don't know about my qualities, because there are any number of other people who could have done just as well if not better job. But the Forest

Service, as I pointed out earlier, the Forest Service--and Dick Benjamin is a prime example--were just locked stepped into a traditional mode of thinking that did not include--except when it would get the cut out or get the sales out--any kind of specialist. In other words, landscape architecture is the prime example. The only reason they were ever accepted into the Forest Service was that sales were starting to be cut back and they were starting to get in a lot of trouble because they were just clear-cutting everything. So landscape architects came in and showed them how to cut and make nice designs in the sides of mountains to make it look more natural. And so they became important for getting the cut out and not be sued. You read that in Benjamin's letter, you know. He accuses me of not being a friend of the Forest Service, not cooperating with the Forest Service and projects. You know what I said to that, of course.

But I don't know about what I would recommend to other people either. Because it's a different thing now. They're the second or third generation and maybe they're all foresters [Chuckling]. You know, eventually you have to melt in. But like I said earlier and I'll say it over; I said it to

the archaeologists. Never forget that's what you are. Never forget that you came in here to give them a disciplinary view of something and a cause. And really a cause is the best way to phrase it. And that's why they hired you. Now they may have had to hire you because somebody would take away their budget if they didn't. But they hired you, and once they hired you, it was their job to be the supervisor and to carry out the job that was recommended by their specialists, not to fight their specialists.

But there's been a good transition. Like Dick Markley on the Tahoe [National Forest]. Dick Markley was one of the first ones to wear a Forest Service uniform. First time I saw that I just about died of a heart attack. Because it symbolized joining the Forest Service, i.e. giving up archaeology. But I just talked with him a while. I remember at the last meeting I told everybody, "The one reason I'm not upset with Dick Markley for wearing a Forest Service uniform everywhere is that I know that basically he's still an archaeologist and he'll never forget that." And as long as everybody remembers that, that they're archaeologists, they didn't go to a school of Forestry. Now they can quit and go back

and go to Forestry and do that and I guess that's okay. But as long as they realize that.

Now there are a lot of important things in the use of the word "archaeology." Really, as I pointed out in my letter to Benjamin, the dictum which most influenced me was "archaeology is anthropology or it is nothing." I basically always considered myself an anthropologist. I'm much more concerned with human behavior. Because I could see it and I could apply it to rocks, to prehistoric behavior, and sometimes incorrectly probably. But anyway, I would have liked to be an ethnographer. Had it to all over again I might have gone that route. I went on an ethnographic research project to the Southwest once when I was at San Francisco State and I got along marvelously with the Navajo, who were tremendously difficult to get along with. Matter of fact, one of things that always impressed me was the guy who was supervising that project. I was his assistant. We were standing in some little street downtown Holbrook or some little town, smaller than Holbrook. But anyway, we were standing there and there were a lot of neon lights on the building we were standing next to on the sidewalk. They were talking back and forth about something and I was

Environmental Impact report for the Gasquet-Orleans road. I was talking as though there weren't any Indians left, and of course from an archaeologist's point of view, there weren't any left. There were a lot of acculturated Indians. And I got into a lot of trouble over that because they came out of the woodwork and so did all the anthropologists. [Chuckle] So my name was mud. But my boss would be getting these letters--this was before Dick Benjamin--we'd be getting these letters that "Don Miller is a really nice guy BUT..." and then they'd go on for three pages. [Chuckles]. So I survived that. I didn't think I'd ever survive that. That was the most strenuous thing that I went through was that old GO road situation. And that was when we hired Joe Winter to take over, get me pulled completely out of it because I was too controversial. And I learned to respect the fact that Indians are there. They couldn't help but be acculturated because Europeans had been in that area for a long, long time.

But I did enjoy the history. It is an interesting history there. Two women sailed down the Klamath way back in the early 1900's and wrote a book about the Klamath Indians. Can't remember

the title. So there is a lot, especially in the northern part of the state, a lot of what they used to call "Emergency Ethnography." The last speakers of languages are there now being spoken, and once a language goes, a very large part of the cultural value system goes. Because value systems are primarily taught through language. So even though there are a few people trying to salvage the language up there, my knowledge of linguistics is that they won't be successful. So there's that work to do. Then there's the new cultures, the new values and they're all part of the record. How cultures changed, what makes them change, why did they change that way and not another way, what has been the influence of the Anglo on them and on the change. Tremendous number of research questions that could be asked and that could be gotten by innovative ways. Not the traditional ethnographic field research alone, but brought back in a way that it could be shared with everybody, including the Indians themselves, that they could be proud of their heritage. They can display it in museums and talks, various public ways.

California represents the most densely populated area in the United States prehistoric

and early historic times. There were more Indians in California than any other comparable land area in the United States. And they were a more diverse group. More than fifty different cultures spoke mutually unintelligible languages, from different language stocks as a matter fact. Tremendous variation in California. That's one of the reasons why archaeologists are excited here, because the archaeological record is diverse and should reflect that diversity that we see in the ethnographic record.

One of my favorite heroes of American anthropology was an ethnographer named M. R. Harrington. He was a linguist and somewhat eccentric. He was from the Smithsonian. He came out here in the early twenties, I believe, to record the Indian languages. That one man--he had a particular good ear for language--he recorded I don't know how many hundreds of different languages or dialects. And just reams, matter of fact, graduate students are still going to the Smithsonian and going through his records. I know Steve Horne on the Los Padres and a couple of his friends got a special grant to go back and study at the Smithsonian, studying M.R. Harrington's notes. And they came out. And I used them from

theses and so forth because he had gained so much information about the Indians at that time. Now it was pretty much before they were bothered too much by European colonization.

So California is an exciting laboratory as Lewis Binford would say. But it should be the same in the future. There's no end to that. It should always be there, just in a slightly different form. So that's about all I can say about California. I'm not from California, but I've lived in California long enough to really have an appreciation for the diversity in the state and the similarities. The diversity is always an interesting concept because it's diversity that gets your curiosity up. You wonder why are things different here. Why do they do this differently? That's what always interested me about anthropology because they were the only field that was going to foreign cultures and wondering why do these people light their fire this way and those people over there light it a different way? Answering those kinds of questions you come up with some interesting concepts, interesting theories about human behavior and why it is the way it is and why it changes and why it doesn't change. So that's the thing that always

excites me about being an anthropologist. That's why I could survive as long as I survived in the Forest Service because I understood human behavior fairly well. It didn't take me very long to appreciate the Forest Service as an institution and the kind of institution that would mold men's minds so that they would write letters like Mr. Benjamin wrote to me, really believing that the Forest Service was the end of the world. [Chuckles] So, anyway, that's enough of that.

[Interruption]

MILLER: We were talking about bureaucracies. I just want to make a point that all bureaucracies are not negative. They're beneficial. There are bureaucracies that are easy to survive in. I remember those are always the kind of bureaucracies I tried to create and be a part of. When I was at UCLA and was made Director of the Archaeological Survey, I tried to have enough structure that would be recognized throughout the state as a legitimate research unit and not just a bunch of graduate students making money. That we wouldn't be really attached to the Department of Anthropology inasmuch as we were half-way across campus. And distance helps to separate yourself

from the big bureaucracy. So we tried to maintain that separateness.

[End Tape 5, Side A]

[Begin Tape 5, Side B]

MILLER: So bureaucracies can be sort of fun to participate in if the whole chain of command recognizes human behavior, recognizes the opportunities that various individuals can contribute. And those that some people can't contribute, people are assigned positions or jobs, whatever, that maximize their abilities and their interests. I know when I ran field schools for UCLA, my major thing with my teaching assistants was loyalty. I told them they had to be loyal to the staff. Because there would be situations where the students would start bad-mouthing other staff members. And I said, "You should immediately defend the staff." I laid down other rules. But the only time I ever fired a person in my life was on a field school. This was before the students had arrived. My assistant, Joe Chartkoff, came in and said, "Hey, so-and-so is out at the swimming pool bad-mouthing you." And I said, "What about?" He says, "Oh, about pay. You haven't paid him yet," and so forth. So I said, "Call him in." I called all the other teaching assistants in. They

all came in my room, and I pointed out to the fellow that he hadn't been paid yet because I was paying him out of someone else's budget and it's hard to get that money transferred around. But he'd be fed and have a place to live and we'd pay him as soon as we can. So everybody came in and I told them that. I said, "You know what? I'm glad this happened before the students arrived. Because that right away would destroy for me one of the most meaningful things in my job at the Survey, running this field school. This is the top thing I do at the Survey, run this field school. So, therefore, I take this very seriously that you would be bad-mouthing me." I'd already sent another teaching assistant to the airport to buy tickets, one-way tickets back to UCLA. So I told him, "You realize what this means to me. What would you do?" I said, "Clay Singer, here are two airline tickets for you and your wife back to UCLA. Go back to the Survey and I don't care what you do; you have another month's pay, that you'll be paid for. I just don't want to see you any more." Now that hurt me just about as bad if not worse than it hurt him. I'd never done anything like that. I was amazed that I kept my composure.

REINIER: But Don, it's interesting. The point that you made about the unit being independent within the bureaucracy is really the ideal that you mentioned for Cultural Resources Management in the Forest Service.

MILLER: Yeah, meaning that it would always be archaeology.

REINIER: And that it be an independent unit within the larger unit.

MILLER: Oh, right. As a matter of fact, I would hope that this would be one of the things that is either changing now or would soon change, is that Cultural Resources or Historic Preservation, as they call it now, would be a total independent division, like Recreation or Timber Management. They'd have Historic Preservation. And that way they could have a number of break-off points. They could have ethnographers, historians, architects, etc. And it's logical. Lord knows, the data base is there. The data base is being damaged all the time. Some day somebody's going to read this stuff and a lot of things that other people wrote and know that there's nothing left, nothing undisturbed by modern activities on the National Forests or anywhere else.

The big difference between the Forest Service and the [National] Park Service is supposed to be

preservation. I always laughed at that. I always pointed out Yosemite Valley. No place in the Forest Service has been damaged as heavily as Yosemite Valley. They are supposed to be preserving that stuff. I guess now they're starting to take some action. But the Forest Service is even derelict in its conservation efforts, I felt. They've corrected a lot of that. New people are coming up. Foresters who take our para-professional training session--scares me to death that we ever did that, but we did it anyway--they took it and they say, "I never understood Cultural Resources. This is what it's all about. Now that we know what to look for and to find, we know what to have protected." So it paid off.

Okay, I don't have much more to say.

REINIER: Don, thank you very much for these words. We appreciate it and I've really enjoyed it a lot. I've enjoyed talking to you.

MILLER: Thank you very much.

[End Tape 5, Side B]

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